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# LIFE AND WORKS

OF

# ALBERT DURER.

R. c - 16

The Original Drawing in the Albertine, Vienna.

ALBERT DÜRER. A. 12

# ALBERT DURER:

## HIS LIFE AND WORKS.

INCLUDING

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL PAPERS AND COMPLETE CATALOGUES.

BY

WILLIAM B. SCOTT,

Author of

'Half-Hour Lectures on the History and Practice of the Fine and Ornamental Arts.'

*WITH SIX ETCHINGS BY THE AUTHOR*

AND OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS.

R-C-16

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*Bronze Statue of Albert Durer, by Rauch, Dürer-Platz, Nurnberg.*

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH

LONDON:

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.

1869.

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# PREFACE.

THAT no English book about Albert Durer, no complete translation of his Journal, Letters, and other pieces, no catalogue or critical account of his works, should have yet appeared, is somewhat remarkable.* As we call to mind how highly Durer is estimated in this country, how carefully his Engravings are collected, and how popular the tales founded on his history or works are with us, we can scarcely help feeling that some express and authentic account of the Master might have been expected. In themselves his writings are very interesting, and fully warrant the con-

* I leave this Preface as it was written, and as it was set up ready for printing, when a life of Durer, by the hand (skilful and able, I believe) of Mrs. C. Heaton, was advertised. That lady's book will, possibly, appear before mine.—W. B. S., October 20, 1869.

clusion to which his designs and pictures lead us, that he was a simple-minded man, profound and strong, viewing life, art, and religion in the same serious spirit.

There is no doubt that the works of a born artist are as much an expression of the man as the verses of a true poet, and that his life, properly seen, is another realisation, another picture or series of pictures, in unison with the painted stories that come from his hand. If Michael Angelo may be taken as the representative of self-centred strength in the garb of learning, so Durer may be accepted as that of sympathetic strength in the garb of science. In both we see a singularly clear reflection of the thought and society of the age, while we also see that they stand completely alone, both obeying the law that works from within outwards, both tending toward a painful severity of thought, both influenced by a bias to the mystical,—men who could never have lived at all, or at least to great and good purpose, but for the example of Christ, as felt and understood in modern Europe.

Our circumstantial knowledge of Durer is derived almost exclusively from his own writings. Some points of detail have been ascertained from contemporary or accidental testimony, as, for example, the character of his wife Agnes, who has, rightly or wrongly, become almost a proverb; but I have thought it better to give the various pieces entire than to use them as materials for a consecutive narration, following thus the plan of Dr. von Eye's 'Leben und Werken,' and leaving some particulars to be embodied in the catalogues of the Master's works.

The list of writers on Durer begins almost in his own day.

Johann Neudorffer collected particulars in Nurnberg, and published them in 1546. His notes are not exclusively on Durer, but on all the painters of that city prior to his own time.

Vasari's 'Lives of the most eminent Painters, &c.,' 1568. His notice of Durer was evidently written without direct information, but is very useful, as we shall see.

Carl van Mander, in his 'Schilder Boeck,' 1604, gave the earliest connected biographical sketch of the painter; Neudorffer, and Hans Hauer who also collected information in Nurnberg, and who printed some Durer papers, being with Van Mander the only authorities for the painter's life until the end of last century. Hans Hauer died in 1606. Sandrart, however, in his 'Teutsche Academie,' 1675, published a memoir, which furnished the materials for many writers—Baldinucci, Des Piles, Descamps, Doppelmeyr, Melchior Adam in his 'Vita Philosophorum Germanorum,' and others.

At the end of last century, Roth's 'Leben A. Dürers' was the first of a new series with larger information, Murr, in his 'Journal,' having printed the letters to Pirkheimer, and made the world acquainted with the Diary in the Low Countries then (about 1781) brought to light.

The following are the principal authorities more recently printed:

*Leben und Werken A. Dürers.* Chemnitz,

*Cat. des Œuvres d'A. Durer.* Paris, 1805.

Bartsch, *Le Peintre-Graveur.*

W. Y. Otley, *Enquiry into the History of Engraving*, 1816.

Dr. Weisse, *A. Dürer und sein Zeitalter*, 1819.

Margraff, *Erinnerungen an Albert Dürer und seinen Lehrer M. Wohlgemuth.* No date.

Joseph Heller, *Das Leben und die Werke A. Dürers.* Bamberg, 1827. If this writer had completed his two volumes, this would have been the fullest work on Durer published to the present time. But the author began with the second, which is on the Works, and never wrote the first, which was to have been on the Life. The existing volume, containing 1090 pages, is the authority which I have principally followed for the catalogues in the present volume.

F. Campe, *Reliquien von A. Dürer,* Nurnberg, 1828, the year of the jubilee, when Durer's house because the property of the city. This work is my principal authority for the text of Durer's own writings.

Émile Galichon, *A. Durer: sa Vie et ses Œuvres*, 1860.

A. von Eye, *Leben und Werken A. Dürers*, 1860. An excellent narrative, embracing all the information at present to be had; Durer's own documents, however, are not given *in extenso*.

G. C. Nagler, *A. Dürer und seine Kunst*. Munich, 1837.

J. D. Passavant, *Le Peintre-Graveur*, 1860–4.

O. B. Hausmann of Hanover, *A. Dürers Kupferstiche, Radirungen, Holzschnitte und Zeichnungen*; with references to paper-marks and other incidental particulars, 1861.

*Edinburgh Review*, July 1861. An admirable paper on Durer

Hermann Grimm, *Albrecht Dürer*. Berlin, 1866.

Dr. Albert von Zahn, *Dürers Kunstlehre und sein Verhältniss zur Renaissance*. Leipsig, 1866.

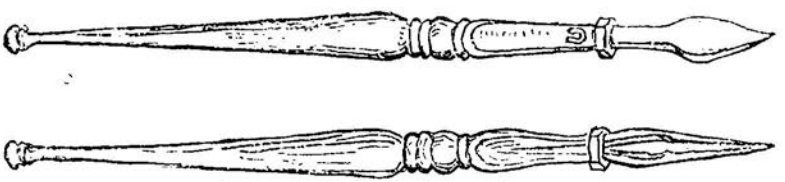
Charles Narrey, *A. Durer à Venise et dans les Pays-Bas*. Paris, 1866. This is the Journal and Letters from Venice in French. Of this handsome illustrated book I have availed myself, especially by adopting many of Narrey's Notes to the Journal.

In conclusion, I must request the critical reader to grant me some indulgence. An artist who only

occasionally turns to authorship stands at a disadvantage not only from the lack of literary habits, but from the scanty amount of time at his command. One merit I may claim. Rejecting all disquisitions and conjectures, I have confined the book within the narrowest possible limits.

WILLIAM B. SCOTT.

33 ELGIN ROAD, LONDON, 1869.



DURER'S DRAWING-PEN, FOUND IN REPAIRING HIS HOUSE, AND NOW IN THE POSSESSION OF DOCTOR HEIDELOFF, NURNBERG.

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*Erratum.*

Page 121, date 1055, in note, *should be* 1505.

## *Errata.*

Page 261, *for* Aachen *read* Aix-la-Chapelle.

„ 285, *read* Der Grosser Polyhistor.

„ 299, *for* Nos. 134—148 *read* 134—135.

„ 317, „ Consuerce *read* Consuesce.

# LIFE AND WORKS
OF
# ALBERT DURER.

## Chapter I.

*NURNBERG IN 1500. — ITS SOCIETY: ARTISTS, MECHANICS, LITERARY MEN.*

ABOUT the end of the fifteenth century, the free town of Nurnberg* had reached a state of commercial prosperity second only to the great Italian ports, and the architectural splendours of private mansions and public works kept pace with the wealth. It was a free town with ancient guilds governed by a council, tenacious of rights and privileges, the magistrates themselves belonging almost exclusively to old families, or being personally distinguished in some way that gave them

* The author has thought it proper to give the name of our painter and his native town without the German form of diphthong: Albert Durer and Nurnberg, not Albrecht Dürer and Nürnberg. The latter name is frequently printed in English books Nuremberg, a radical difference he has not adopted.

the distinction of an aristocracy. It had also an ancient royal residence, and entertained the Kaiser, its leading citizens having to turn out in time of war at their own charges, the city furnishing a contingent to the Imperial army.

Nurnberg was, moreover, a centre of learning and science. The discoveries of new countries beyond seas, and new channels of commerce, which were ultimately to reduce the importance of the Mediterranean, and assist in effacing Venice, and Nurnberg itself, excited great interest among its citizens. The advanced study of classic authors and tendency to independence in religion were features in this part of Germany that led to the adoption of new facilities in book-making; reading was almost general, and every improvement was quickly adopted. The practical and useful was then and is still a leading feature in the national character; and the inventions of the workshop, tools, and their mechanical application, were much admired. It appears to me that there is little doubt that the art of printing from engraved plates, or rather, I ought to say, the art of engraving for the purpose of printing, was really a German invention. There is no question that making books by type-printing, following the earlier art of book-making by block-pages, was a natural and speedy development; and that the block-page and the existence of the printing press as naturally and much more easily developed the arts of picture-making from wood and plates of metal.

The presence of a historian in Italy has made all the difference between the two countries, and the goldsmith Finiguerra has received all the honours of a discoverer, and Florence the credit of having seen the first-fruits of the art of engraving. The story, as recounted by Vasari with all its interesting details, is constantly reproduced, and will continue to be so, as there is no other wherewith to supplant it. Nevertheless it is long since Strutt showed that the date assigned to the discovery in Florence was really posterior to that on existing prints executed in Upper Germany; and, since his time, many others have been observed bearing an earlier or contemporary character. We have the master of Martin Schön, and the master of Israel von Mechen, with others, working in the same spirit; and even these great and accomplished engravers themselves, who show no sign of having been the pioneers in a new art, carry us back to Vasari's date. Schön died in 1486 leaving a lifetime of engravings behind him, which he must have begun to produce before the date assigned to the Florentine discovery, and his master Zwott, or whoever he was, takes us back to the earlier years of the printing press.*

* The truth is, the happy idea of *rubbing* off impressions from plates prepared for nielli, was probably suggested by the sight or the rumour of engravings printed on paper by pressure. The charts for the Ptolemy published in Rome 1478 were commenced in 1472: they are, therefore, the earliest known published copper-plates done in Italy, and they were done by Germans, Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Buckinck.

All forms of engraving and applications of printing were, at all events, quickly carried to perfection in Germany, and became astonishingly prolific. Artists seem immediately to have bestowed attention on the new art, and the representative artist of the succeeding generation north of the Alps was Albert Durer. He was equally able in many arts. Painter, carver, architect, and engraver, Sandrart styles him, and he was succeeded by pupils and others emulous of his excellences. We shall not call them imitators, seeing they were all original artists, who continued for a generation or two to issue, from their studios or workshops in Nurnberg, engravings of their own designs that took a place as high and good art, and retain it still.

After three centuries and a half, the old Franconian capital continues to interest the world in a considerable measure as the home of Albert Durer. Not that the art-life (Kunst-leben), as Herr von Rettberg has called it, of Nurnberg is weak in other names, especially in the generation immediately preceding that of Durer. But the city itself has celebrated its great painter more emphatically than all its other sons. In the festival of 1828, the anniversary of the third century since his death, the bronze statue by Rauch was erected, and his house was made public property, as Shakespere's has been more recently. The statue stands in an open space at the foot of the Zisselgasse, the name of which was then changed to Durer-

strasse, at the top of which, facing the most interesting of the old town gates, the Thiergärtner Thor, is the very house where the artist worked and died.

In 1494, when, as he has recorded, 'our wedding was held on the Monday before S. Margaret's day,' and he settled down at the age of twenty-three in this house, it must have been newly built. With some show of likelihood (for every one who could do so then possessed his own house), it is supposed that the dowry of his bride, Agnes Frey, was expended in its purchase. A goodly house with considerable accommodation it is, though not certainly one of the princely mansions so rich in the peculiar Gothic, modified by the novel forms of the Renaissance art, that illustrate the splendour of the times when 'a Nurnberg citizen was better lodged than the King of Scots.' Its door is wide enough to admit a pack-horse as easily as a man, and in the centre of the paved interior (for the living rooms are all upstairs) is a solid support to the floor above. On the right of this hall is a small chamber, from which at one time projected a wooden addition, said to have been the sanctum where the master worked. The rooms above, on the first landing of the darkish stair, are inferior to those still higher. The walls of the house in this upper portion are 'half timber' construction, and the front room is a very fine apartment, lighted by windows with cusped mullions, looking out on

the broad paved Place, and on the high tower protecting the gate leading to the Castle, which runs along in an irregular line of steep roof above the houses. The highest of these houses, the one right opposite Durer's, had been just then christened 'Pilate's house,' for there lived Martin Koetzel, who had been twice to the Holy Land, and had brought back exact measurements of the way to Calvary from the supposed place of trial. This distance he measured from his own house, at the further end being the cemetery of S. John, and, along this line of road, Adam Kraft was just then erecting the sculptures of the Seven Agonies, terminating in the Crucifixion, still well preserved.

It is possible that Durer may have used a small chamber, such as that described as having existed until lately, but, however that may have been, it is certain he must have also had a large atelier to accommodate his various labours, in which his pupils and workmen assisted. There can be little doubt that his engravings were printed under his own eye.*

There is no town, either in Germany or Italy, now remaining more untouched from the period of its great-

* In the account of Marc' Antonio by Vasari, we are told that Raphael, to save the time of that artist, and ease him of work, caused his man Baviera, who had been his colour-grinder, to learn the art of printing the impressions. Previous to this, Marc' Antonio must have printed his engravings with his own hand!

ness than the imperial city of Nurnberg. Down to 1417 the Emperor had the power of appointing a burg-graf, or resident lord, who lived in a fortified residence *within* the walls. At that time the city bought him off for 120,000 guldens, the residence was entirely rased by the people in a furor of enthusiasm, and ever after they were governed by their own council; and, at the end of the century, the castle was one of the favourite residences of the Emperors. Some of the walls of this *berg* are the oldest pieces of masonry in the locality, showing that here, as elsewhere, the town had gathered round the fortification. The great lime tree in the courtyard was doubtless an old tree in Durer's time, and nearly every stone here was then exactly as now. In the Rathhaus, too, we find little altered. The fountain by Labenwolf in the interior square, was not erected till after Durer's death probably, but the building remains intact. The secret passages were there, though unknown to any but the initiated few, and the dungeons, now shown to travellers, had then their miserable inhabitants whom no one dared to ask after.

The great churches S. Sebald and S. Laurence and the church of Our Lady (Frauenkirche) had just been finished, although the two first mentioned had been begun and mainly built centuries before. Peter Vischer was actually working at the lovely Sebald-shrine, now one of the jewels of art in iron; and Adam Kraft had just finished

the Sacraments-house, or ambry for the sacred elements, in the Laurence Kirche; late in the day for so beautiful a piece of pointed work. The gallery over the porch of the Frauenkirche had just been completed with its figures moving when the hours struck, and a space for the exhibition of relics on certain holidays, such as pieces of the holy manger, the table-cloth of the Last Supper, the crown of thorns, and other lying trumpery, soon to be discredited by the Reformation.* The fountain opposite, known to all the world as the Beautiful Well (the Schönebrunnen), was then as now among the treasures of the town; but it was then alone, all the others now adorning the public places having been since erected, I believe.

At the time Durer began life, therefore, all these masters were working:—Peter Vischer the smith, with his numerous sons; Adam Kraft the sculptor; Sebastian Lindenast the 'red smith,' worker in copper; Veit Stoss the carver in wood, who survived for many years, old and blind, living in the Spital.

These were all able artists in their several ways, plain men and skilful workmen, as unlike the modern conception of an inventive artist as it is possible to be. Actual painters and designers must have been numerous,

* The Frauenkirche is now the only Roman church in Nurnberg. Perhaps in its dusty presses are still preserved these ancient properties, though hidden away even from the Roman Catholic people.

although we know few names. Wohlgemuth of course, and his humble collaborateur Wilhelm Pleydenwurff; but, besides, there must have been many others. Schöngauer at Colmar made many pupils, and Mair at Landshut, not equal to Schöngauer but still eminent; and these pupils were likely to resort to Nurnberg. Martin Zatzinger, or Zagel, who executed in 1500 the interesting plates, the 'Great Ball' and the 'Tournament,' lived here; and Lucas Kornelisz, otherwise called Ludwig Krug, who died about the same time as Durer.

But a much greater artist than either of these was very probably then working in Nurnberg, we mean Jacob Walsh, 'the master of the Caduceus.' This artist, wholly unknown until lately, we shall hear Durer himself speak of.* It is true he went early to Italy, since he published, in Venice, the great view of that city in six sheets, about 1500, and his drawing and style have entirely the Italian and classic character; yet his fine and dexterous manipulation must have shown the way to Durer when he executed the 'Adam and Eve,' one of his earliest and yet most perfect works.†

* The researches of E. Harzen, published in the 'Archives' of Naumann, 1855, have supplied such information as we possess regarding this Nurnberg artist, the most skilful engraver, except Durer, who ever engraved his own designs.

† The number of engravings done about this time in Upper Germany must have been very great. The British Museum has lately acquired three little MS. volumes, illustrated by contemporary prints pasted in, to

In mechanical arts Nurnberg was even more active, and the list of inventors and improvers of instruments or processes, as given by R. von Rettberg, is long and curious. Hans Menschel, who lived till 1533, improved the trumpet in 1498. Peter Henleim (probably the same as Peter Hele) made the pocket clock, the 'Nürnberger Eier,' the Nurnberg egg: he lived till 1542. Casper Werner, somewhat later, improved the same, and added decorations, by chasing and engraving. About the same time Hans Danner improved lifting apparatus and screw machinery, and Erhard Etzlaub the compass. Johan Stabius designed the sundial on the Laurence Kirche in 1502, and Johan Schoner (born 1477) worked out the Globe of the world, so essential in school and library. An unknown locksmith invented the wheel-lock for small arms in 1517, afterwards improved and adapted by Wolf Danner. Then lived also Bernhard Müllner the silk-embroiderer (born 1496), and Bullmann, the locksmith and clockmaker, whom Charles V. had conveyed all the way to Vienna in a sedan chair to put his watch right! Hans Nöckl the carpet-worker; Wolf Weisskopf and Sebald Beck the skilful joiners; George Hartmann (whom Rettberg calls a pupil of Durer), who first observed the variations of the magnet, improved the

the number of several hundreds. Mechen, Bocholt, and other engravers appear, but, besides these, there are prints by about twenty men of whom we have no other record.

compass in consequence, and also invented the measuring rod, have all to be mentioned. Also Ehemann, who in 1540 first made the puzzle-lock which needs no key. The list goes on still further, but we stop!

It is to be remembered that Durer had a great sympathy with mechanics, which increased upon him in later life, attested by his study of fortification and by his other treatises, as well as by models made by him still preserved. But there is still another circle of Nurnberg society to be mentioned, with which he had even greater sympathy—that of the learned and literary.

The principal figure in this circle is that Conrad Celtes, who was settled for a time in Nurnberg at the beginning of 1500, and there published, in 1501, the Latin Comedies of the nun Roswitha, which astonished the learned by their pure latinity as well as by their laxity of morals and speech, equalling that of their prototype Plautus. These comedies are now shrewdly thought to have been forged by Celtes and the friends associated with him in a society he founded (the earliest in Germany), called the 'Sodalitas Literaria Rhenana.'* There was so close a bond of union between the members of this society, that they must have at least

* The discoverer of this forgery, if forgery it was, is Professor Aschbach of Vienna. In the university of that city, a collection of Celtes' letters exists, in which letters are many equivocal allusions to the wonderful nun of Gandersheim, who, at so early a date as the tenth century, wrote better, purer Latin than was elsewhere found.

been cognisant of the deception. One of these, Bilibald Pirkheimer, Durer's most intimate friend, wrote epigrams on Roswitha, which, now that we know more of the affair, show there was something to conceal. Pirkheimer was one year older than Durer, and outlived him only two years. He had two sisters, both remarkably learned ladies and abbesses; especially so was Charitas, the abbess of the cloister of S. Clara, who corresponded with Durer. Another member of this Nurnberg society intimately associated afterwards with Durer, was Benedict Chelidonius, a monk of the cloister of S. Giles, who assisted in the publication of the 'Greater Passion' and the 'Life of the Virgin,' by preparing the Latin verses printed on the backs of the engravings.

A few other names I may mention as indicating the intellectual activity of the time when Durer was emancipating himself from pupilage and his father's obscurity. At the head of the school attached to S. Laurence Kirche was Johann Cochläus, the opponent of the Reformation a few years later, by the publication of a dramatic satire, the 'Bockspiel Martin Luthers;' Andreas Osiander, teacher of Hebrew and first 'preacher' in the S. Laurence Kirche reformed; Thomas Jäger (calling himself Venatorius), mathematician and poet, a combination then seemingly natural; Eoben Hess and Joachim Camerarius, both intimate with our artist, though younger men; also

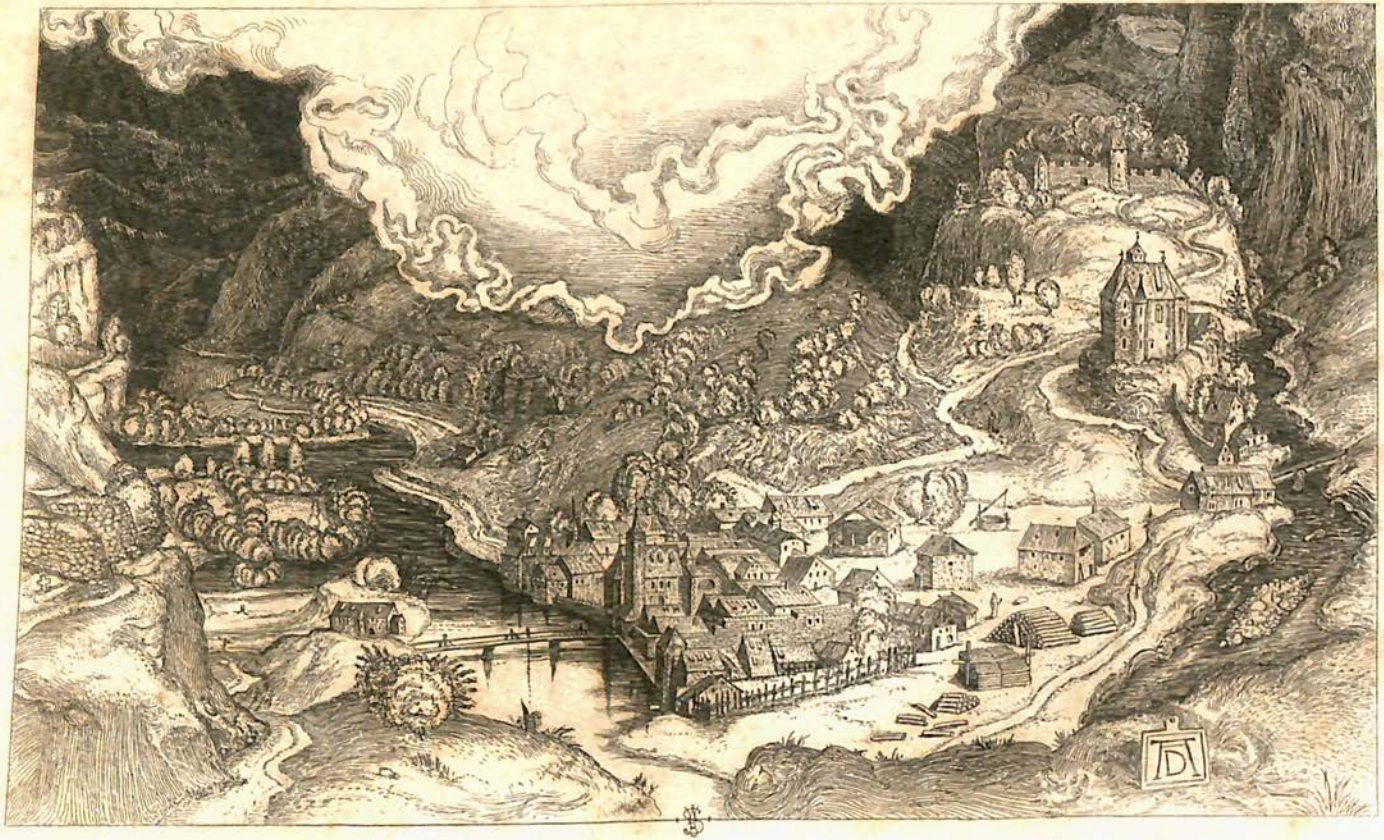
Steffan Baumgärtner, in some sense his patron, though not so noticeable for learning; Melchior Pfinzing, provost of S. Sebald's, who wrote the 'Tewrdannkh,' a long poem, pleasing to the Emperor Max, which was produced in 1517, with 118 illustrations by Durer's pupil Hans Schäufflein; Jerome Baumgärtner, Melanchthon's scholar and friend, when that great light settled in Nurnberg after the tide had turned. Other notables, still distinguishable, were Christof Fürer, Christof Scheurl, Christof Kress, and lastly Veit Dietrich, then a young man, fighting against the already-mentioned schoolmaster Cochläus for the new liberties, afterwards preacher at the Sebald's Kirche.

Besides all these we must remember that the poet-shoemaker Hans Sachs, at this distance of time the most prominent figure in the literary history of the city, and worth all the pompous pedagogues and disputants put together, was beginning his fraternity of 'master-singers,' or at least he, Leonhard Nunnenbek, and others, were rising into manhood. Abroad and far off still mightier things were doing: Copernicus was writing in his observatory, Vasco di Gama was on the Southern Seas.

## Chapter II.

*DURER'S BOYHOOD.—HIS 'FAMILY RELATION.'*

OF the childhood and early years of Durer, our knowledge is exclusively derived from what he has left written. His father's circumstances were not excellent, perhaps even very restricted; his mother was quite young; and the accession of new brothers and sisters constantly going on, must have kept the household wretched. We certainly know that Nurnberg was a hard stepmother to him afterwards, and the men of position and ability already named were mostly born in a better sphere. It is more than probable that his father's circle was a limited one, and did not include many of the men whose names have been given. Indeed, to approach Albert with certainty, we must narrow our observation to the prosperous goldsmith Haller and his busy workshop, where Albert the elder must be found, half artist, half mechanic, working skilfully and making successful love towards the very young daughter of his master; and to the neighbours and private friends of the house,—Koberger the future printer of the Nurnberg Chronicle, the vicar of S. Sebald's, and others.



VILLAGE OF EYTAS.

The following small piece of family history remaining, from the hand of Durer, is dated 1524. We give it from Campe's 'Reliquien,' merely interpolating within brackets the few additions we have to make.

*A Family Relation.*

'I, Albrecht Dürer the younger, have sought out from among my father's papers these particulars of him, where he came from, and how he lived and died holily. God rest his soul! Amen.'

'Albrecht Dürer the elder was born in the kingdom of Hungary, not far from the town called Jula, eight miles under Wardein, at a village called Eytas, where his family occupied themselves with oxen and horses. [This Eytas is supposed to be the romantic little town represented below the figure of Temperance in the clouds, usually called 'The Great Fortune,' in Durer's wonderful engraving. I cannot, however, learn who first asserted this to be the case.] My grandfather was called Anthony, and he betook himself to the town when still a young man, and learned the goldsmith's art. He married a maiden called Elizabeth, and they had four children, one girl, Catherine, and three sons. The eldest son was Albrecht, my dear father, who became also a goldsmith, and was a skilful and truthful man. The second son was called Laslen (Ladislaus) and he became a harness maker. He was the father of my

cousin Nicholas, who learned the goldsmith's art from my father at Nurnberg, who now lives at Cologne, and whom they there call Nicholas of Hungary. [We shall find Durer mention this cousin in his 'Journal;' it will be remembered that this 'Family Relation' was written after his return from the Netherlands. From Albert the elder taking apprentices on his own account, he must then have had an atelier of his own.] The third, John, was allowed to study, and was the priest of Wardein for thirty years.

'My dear father travelled into Germany, and also lived long in the Netherlands, knowing there many great artists. He at last came here to Nurnberg in 1454, on S. Louis's day (August 25), the very day on which Philip Pirkheimer held his wedding, and there was a great dance under the lime trees. Then my dear father entered himself with Joseph Haller, who became my grandfather; for, after a long service, up to the year 1467, my father having asked him for his daughter Barbara, then a fair and handy maiden of fifteen, they were married eight days before S. Vitus [Aucht tage vor viti. S. Vitus's day is June 15; S. Vitalis, April 28]. I must also record that my mother's mother was the daughter of Oellinger of Weissenberg, and was called Cunegund.

'My dear parents had between them all these children that follow, as I have copied them from the book, word for word.'

'"1. Item: on the eve of S. Margaret (July 20) at 6 o'clock, 1468, my housewife, Barbara, bore my first daughter. Old Margareth of Weissenberg was the godmother, and named the child after its mother.

'"2. Item: on S. Mary's day (there is a difficulty in determining what day this means), 1470, at 2 o'clock before day, my wife bore me a son. Frederic Roth of Beyreuth held him at the font, and called him Hans.

'"3. At 6 o'clock, on S. Prudentius' day, the Friday in Holy Week 1471, my housewife bore another son, to whom *Anthony Koberger* was godfather, and named him after me ALBERT.

'"4. At 3 o'clock in the morning of S. Felix' day (there are a dozen saints so named), 1472, my fourth child was born, named Sebald, after his godfather Sebald Hotzle.

'"5. At 6 o'clock, on S. Rupert's day (March 27), our fifth child was born. Hans Schreiner of Laufer-Thor, his godfather, called him Jerome, after my father-in-law.

'"6. At 7 o'clock, the day of S. Domitian (S. Domitztag, probably S. Donatian, May 23), 1474, my sixth child was born. Ulric Mank, the goldsmith, named him Anthony.

'"7, 8. On S. Sebastian's day (January 20), 1476, at the first hour, my housewife bore a daughter, who was afterwards called Agnes by her godmother, the damsel

Agnes Bayrin; and, after an hour of great pains, she bore another, baptized at once Margaret.

'"9. On Wednesday after S. Louis (August 25), 1477, another daughter was born, named by the damsel Ursula, after herself.

'"10. In 1478, at 3 o'clock, on the day of SS. Peter and Paul (June 30), a son was born, and called Hans by Hans Sterger, Sohmbach's friend.

'"11. On Sunday, being S: Arnold's day, 1479, at 3 of the clock, a daughter was born, and she was called by the name of her godmother, Agnes Fritz Fischer.

'"12. At 1 o'clock on St. Peter's day (June 29), 1481, a boy was born, called Peter after the saint, by Nicholas, Jobst Haller's clerk, who was his godfather.

'"13. In 1482, at 4 o'clock, Thursday before S. Bartholomew's day (August 24), a daughter was born, to whom Catherine, the daughter of Brintwar, gave her name.

'"14. In 1484, on S. Mark's day (April 25) one hour before midnight, my 14th child was born; he was called Andrew, after his godfather Andrew Stromayer.

'"15. At midday, on the eve of S. George (April 22), 1486, a son was born and called Sebald, by Sebald de Lochheim. This is the second Sebald among my children.' (Albert Durer was now about sixteen years of age, and in a few months he was to begin art with Wohlgemuth. As this is the *second* Sebald, and a few years after we find

the *third* Hans, death as well as birth must have been busy in the household).

'"16. At midday, on the Friday before Ascension, 1488, a daughter was born, and called Christine, after the wife of Bernard Walter.

'"17. In 1490, the Sunday before Lent, two hours after midnight, a boy was born. Master George, vicar of S. Sebald's, was his godfather, and called him Hans. This is the third of that name among my children.

'"18. On St. Cyriac's day (August 8), 1492, two hours before night, my eighteenth child was born. Carl von Ochsenfurt was his godfather, and called him Carl."

'All these, my dear father's children, are now dead, some very young, some living a little longer, except three; and those who still live, as long as God pleases, are Andrew (who was thirteen years younger than Albert, survived him, and was in a way his executor), Hans (Hans, or John, was nineteen years younger than Albert; he was brought up and educated as an artist by him, and he was afterwards painter to the King of Poland), and myself ALBERT.

'My father's life was passed in great struggles and in continuous hard work. With my dear mother bearing so many children he never could become rich, as he had nothing but what his hands brought him. He had thus many troubles, trials, and adverse circumstances. But yet from every one who knew him he received praise, because

he led an honourable Christian life, and was patient, giving all men consideration, and thanking God. He indulged himself in few pleasures, spoke little, shunned society, and was in truth a God-fearing man.

'My dear father took great pains with his children, bringing them up to the honour of God. He made us know what was agreeable to others as well as to our Maker, so that we might become good neighbours; and every day he talked to us of these things, the love of God and the conduct of life. For me, I think, he had a particular affection, and, as he saw me diligent in learning, he sent me to school. When I had learned to write and read he took me home again, with the intention of teaching me goldsmith's work. In this I began to do very well (we are told by Nagler that he made the Seven Stations in silver during this short time with his father, and that they excited the wonder of every one). But my love was towards painting, much more than towards the goldsmith's craft. When at last I told my father of my inclination, he was not well pleased, thinking of the time I had been under him as lost if I turned painter. But he let me have my will, and in the year 1486, on S. Andrew's day (November 30) he settled me apprentice with Michael Wohlgemuth, to serve him for three years.

'In that time God gave me diligence to learn well, spite of the pains I had to suffer from the other young

men. And when the three years were out, my father sent me away. I remained abroad four years, when he recalled me; and, as I had left just after Easter in 1490, I returned home in 1494 just after Whitsuntide.'

(At this time, in every town in Europe, governed by a corporate body, the guilds were in full force; and it was imperative on every one, following any employment whatever, to become free of his particular society, as much as it is now, in the learned professions, to obtain a diploma or other qualification before being allowed to practise. The first necessary document was the indenture of apprenticeship, the second was a certificate of entry on the books of the guild. The power of these associations continued in Franconia down to 1658. After the 'freedom of the trade' had been acquired, the liberty to work extended under certain conditions to the whole imperial dominion, then so extensive. We shall see that Durer during his residence in Venice finds it necessary to pay money for the privilege to practise; and, if he practised his art during those four years of travel before his marriage, we may conclude he would either have to acquire the right or not to travel beyond the boundary of the empire. It was necessary to produce proofs of skill to be entered in the guild, and Nagler says Albert sent in a drawing of Orpheus torn to pieces by the Bacchantes, which drawing existed still in the sixteenth century in the collection of Dr. Melchior Ayrer;

now unfortunately it is lost. The earliest drawing now extant, one done just before his going to Wohlgemuth, and consequently long before his taking the freedom of any guild, is his own portrait, now at Vienna. It is done on parchment, and shows great accomplishment and much freedom; the face is most sweet and intelligent; and under it is written, in his own hand, 'I did this from myself in a glass while I was still a child, in 1484.' There is an old and good copy in the British Museum which we have taken as our authority.)

'And now, when my *wanderjahre* was over, Hans Frey treated with my father and gave me his daughter, by name the jungfrau Agnes, with a dowry of 200 guldens. Our wedding was held on the Monday before S. Margaret's day (Monday before July 20), in the year 1494.

'After a time my father fell ill with a kind of dysentery no one could cure. Soon he clearly saw death before him, and with great patience waited to go, recommending my mother to me, and a godly life to all of us. He received the sacraments, and died a true Christian on the eve of S. Matthew (September 21) at midnight, in 1502, as I have written more at length in another book.'

(Of this other book, a leaf only is found. It is marked page nineteen, and is the very piece recording at greater length this pathetic deathbed. It says,) 'The old nurse helped him to rise and put the close cap upon his head again, which had become wet by the heavy sweat.

He wanted something to drink and she gave him Rhine wine, of which he tasted some, and then wished to lie down again. He thanked her for her aid, but no sooner lay back upon his pillows than his last agony began. Then the old woman trimmed the lamp, and set herself to read aloud S. Bernard's dying song, but she only reached the third verse, and behold his soul had gone. God be good to him! Amen. Then the little maid, when she saw that he was dying, ran quickly up to my chamber and waked me. I went down fast but he was gone, and I grieved much that I had not been found worthy to be beside him at his end.

'After this my brother Hans came to live with me, but Andrew we sent away; and, two years later, my mother came to me having nothing to live upon. With me she remained the rest of her life. In 1513 she took her last illness suddenly, and lay for a whole year, till May 17, 1514, when she received the sacraments and died two hours before night as she had prayed. God have her in his good keeping!

'My dear mother-in-law took ill on Sunday, August 18, 1521; and on September 29, at 9 of the night, she died piously. And in 1523, on the Feast of the Presentation, early in the morning, died my father-in-law, Hans Frey. He had been ill for six years, and had his share of troubles in his time.'

The record of Albert's birth in this 'Family Relation' says he was born on Friday in Holy Week, S. Prudentius' day. Friday in Holy Week is Good Friday, which, according to Bond's 'Handy-book of Dates,' was April 12, in 1471, while S. Prudentius is celebrated in the calendar on April 6. This difficulty has made a disagreement between the various writers on Durer. Dr. von Eye says, 'six o' clock on S. Prudentius' day, that is, according to our reckoning, 11 in the morning of May 21.' Dr. M. M. Mayer considers the true date, 'May 21, Tuesday in Holy Week;' why, he does not explain. Dr. R. Marggraff and Doppelmayer say, 'May 20.' Weise, Nagler, and Sandrart content themselves with saying 'Friday in Holy Week.' If he was born on April 6, his birth and death were on the same day.

# Chapter III.

*DURER'S TRAVELS AND MARRIAGE.—HIS WORKS UP TO* 1506. *—MARTIN SCHÖN, ZATZINGER, AND JACOB WALSH.*

THE difference between Italian and German art is visible in every single work, great or small. The range of the Alps divided the elevated sentiment and the expression of beauty, from the realism and individuality pervading even the religion and romance of the Teutonic mind. The causes of this difference are many and various, but the most patent and easy of detection is the inheritance of classic influences in the shape of antique sculpture and architecture. The preservation or discovery of marbles determined in Italy the character of modern sculpture, which art was nearly a century in advance of painting. These marbles also afforded the best school for the painter; to originate or to interpret nature is so difficult, to imitate bygone art so easy. Pointed architecture, 'Christian architecture,' was a northern development; in Rome, the centre of the Papacy, architecture remained 'pagan.'

This difference between Ultra and Trans-montane art implies corresponding differences in other fields of intellect.

Accordingly we find the earlier applications of printing and engraving diverse in Germany and in Italy. All the block-books were pious books, and the first volume printed from types was the Bible: nearly all the early German engravings were in the service of religion. In Italy the head-quarters of the Church, it was different: Virgil, Terence, Dante, and the romance called 'Hypnerotomachia,' were the works there employing the new illustrative art.* Moreover this difference must be admitted to have existed in actual life. The Italian artist very generally painted his mistress as the Madonna, and the further south we go we find more 'paganism' in the habits of the community and in the manners of the artist. It is impossible this 'Family Relation' could have proceeded from any Italian artist; a monk in the cloister might have expressed himself much more piously, but a man in the world south of the Alps could never have written it.

At the time of their marriage the parents of our artist were of very different ages, Barbara being no more than fifteen while Albert the elder was forty. The result was not a happy one: perpetual exhaustion in childbirth and exhaustion in providing for the children followed for twenty years; still the filial affection of the son sustained

* I here express the difference as exhibited by the majority of examples. Exceptions of course there were; indeed the first book, illustrated by an artist with pictures on copper, issued from the press in Italy, though not containing the first plates engraved, was 'El Monte Sancto di Dio,' produced at Florence, 1477.

no diminution. Then follows the record of his own marriage, a few words, without passion or sentiment, expressing only docility and obedience to paternal authority.

It may have been the way at that time in Franconia, but we are not prepared to find the exceptional man, the typical genius in art, conforming so willingly to a custom so arbitrary in the matter of marriage. How far his education at school extended we know not, although we find unmistakable evidences of some knowledge of Latin in his after writings and subjects, but happily his docility in the matter of choice of a profession was not so thorough as in the equally important (that is, to a man of Durer's nature) matter of marriage. He is transferred to Wohlgemuth; becomes a more skilful artist than his master; he returns from his *wanderjahre* at his father's call; has seen other countries and been his own master, and yet we find him disposed of by these two old men, and he becomes the husband of a woman said to have been his destruction at last. Albert was twenty-three, Agnes younger; and the only explanation of the mystery we are entitled to find is, that she was pretty (as she is, indeed, always represented to have been) and lovable, and for the moment made him happy. The evil day came after; she was childless; and it may not have been till after the death of her parents and Albert's that the peevish piety and avaricious discontent supervened.

That Agnes was the model for any of his Madonnas, either painted or engraved, is uncertain; nor, indeed, is there sufficient evidence that any of the studies and sketches to be found among his remains are portraits of his wife. Even that in the Esterhazy Collection is not inscribed with her name. There are two engraved portraits, one by Joh. Fr. Leonhard, inscribed 'Agnes Dureri conjux,' with Durer's monogram and date 1508; the other is from a medal with the same date; but the question still recurs, What authority is there for supposing these to be Agnes? Tradition allows her to have been beautiful, but an ingenious writer* has adduced some evidence that another face had crossed the painter's dreams. There is extant a sketch of a woman's head and bust, the face slightly averted; and underneath it, with Durer's monogram, the words, 'My Augusta.' Another sketch† represents a woman in Nurnberg costume passing into a church; the inscription on the drawing, besides the painter's name, consists of the words from Scripture, 'Remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom.' 'The date is 1508, after his return from Italy. Whose prayers did Albert ask with the dumb strength of his manhood?' It is pleasant to believe in this glimpse of romance. If the character attributed to Agnes by Durer's personal friends

* In the *Edinburgh Review*, July 1821.

† These are both mentioned in our catalogue of sketches.

be correct, it is just to the great man, who is said to have borne his lot with more patience even than Socrates, to believe that he had his ideals, and retained the inner chamber of his heart unfilled.

While still with his father, the boy must have learned at least to draw. The likelihood is, that the goldsmith his father was well fitted to teach him, and used the pencil and chalk as well as the modelling tool and graver. The great number of painters in Italian art-history, originally goldsmiths, shows that the training must have been very advantageous to the further development of any department of art; and Durer speaks of his father as very skilful, and as the friend of many good artists, before his settlement in Nurnberg. The portrait of himself at thirteen, already mentioned, shows acquired power in drawing, and its date is two years prior to his going to Wohlgemuth.

Christof Scheurl,* whom Durer met at Bologna in 1506, says Durer told him that Martin Schön had been selected for his master, and that he was to have been sent to Colmar, where that artist and his brothers resided. Melchior Adam, who is followed by Bayle, says, 'He attached himself to a painter of small ability (!) called Martin Hupse (Schön), who showed him how to engrave as well

* I find this authority always cited in the different lives of Durer, but confess I have not been able to learn in what original shape this contemporary authority is to be found.

as paint.' This account we know to be substantially wrong, and yet it may have a shadow of truth. Wohlgemuth was not an engraver; as a painter he belonged to the archaic school; and although associated with the publication of the Nurnberg Chronicle by drawing the illustrations, may be confidently said to have never cut on wood. No form of engraving was likely to be known to him as a painter, the wood engraver being only a more educated *formschneider*, or cutter of the block-page for the early books, the copper engraver (a much higher artist, having no drawing prepared for him), being developed from the chaser and niellist, the newly invented printing press making the sale of impressions possible. Much has been written on this subject, in the absence of record and on imperfect practical knowledge: it is enough to remind our readers, that the first generation of engravers, in Italy as in Germany, all began life as goldsmiths, but had become painters by the time that the press offered the means of usefully applying their art-powers to engraving for its own sake. With the second generation this was not necessarily the case. Marc' Antonio and his chief assistants did not come from the goldsmith's bench, though, as it happened, our Durer did.

He went to Wohlgemuth to learn to paint. This artist was probably the best painter in his native town, and was fifty-two years of age when the boy of fifteen was led into his old fashioned atelier, more of a workshop than a

studio. It is possible he might illuminate, or even rubricate, the printed books now superseding the manuscript, and still more probable he made coats of arms on panels or shields for hall or tournament. This kind of work would seem good enough for the fellow-apprentices Durer complains of; he the future leader, and friend of Melanchthon and Erasmus, they the future craftsmen and jolly guild brethren. These comrades would have an apprenticeship of the legal seven years, while Durer was entered but for three; and, at the expiry of this period, he travels, as was customary in all skilful callings; and now it may have been he went to Colmar, and practised engraving, associating himself, not with Martin who was dead, but with the three remaining brothers, who continued the same trade, and who are said to have welcomed him with much satisfaction.

It is, indeed, nearly certain, that part of the four years of travel were spent in Colmar. Some writers hold that Durer visited Italy at this early time, a supposition contradicted by the most irrefragable of all testimonies, that of the spirit of his works: others that he went into the Low Countries; but this is discountenanced by the entire silence in his journal as to any previous visit there. However pleasing it may be to imagine him at either of the centres of art-influence, and associating with notable contemporaries, there is a presumption he did not, but

kept within the imperial jurisdiction. Colmar, now belonging to France and the capital of the department of the Upper Rhine, is forty-two miles south of Strasbourg, and about the same north of Basle, both of which were places likely to entertain a young German artist always ready with his crayon to take the portrait of jungfrau or burgomeister.

We ought to remember, also, that Durer was a Hungarian by family, and took an affectionate interest in his father's history. This would induce him to travel eastward, towards Prague, Pesth, and Gratz ; and if there is a foundation in truth to the tradition, that the lovely little town in the lower part of the print called the 'Great Fortune,' is the town of Eytas, from whence his father came, he must have seen it and sketched it at this time. At no other epoch of his life could he have done so.

Having alluded to the practice of goldsmiths in the use of the graver, as well as in drawing, enabling his father to induct him into the rudiments of the art, it may be well to remark, that it would not appear he had practised his father's trade to any good purpose. It is impossible now to say what his surprising Seven Stations in silver were ; but it is evident from his transactions in Venice as we shall see, and in Flanders at a later time, that he had no knowledge of jewels, and was unable to guess the value of any article offered to him. When Albert the elder arrived in Nurnberg he

worked for Haller, and continued no doubt an employé to the time of his marriage, when he established a separate workshop, and took apprentices on his own account. It must have been a disappointment to him to find he was not to have his favourite boy, the diligent elder son, to assist him and continue his work when cares and years were beginning to tell upon him, for he was now close on sixty years of age. But the thoughtful sweet manhood dawning in the boy's face, in the drawing at Vienna, would assure the painstaking father that whatever young Albert wished would turn out well in the end.

Of Wohlgemuth there is very little known. In several galleries we find pictures under his name. In Munich, for example, there are five, all of them sacred subjects, painted in the earlier German manner, with little feeling, but in materials still well preserved. In the same gallery are pictures described as 'in the manner of Wohlgemuth;' but, as he did not inscribe his works, there is always a measure of uncertainty as to the correctness of the inscription of works to his hand or school. The only certain thing we know of him is, that he was the master of Durer in painting, and that he illustrated the 'Chronicon,' printed and published by Durer's godfather Koberger, in 1493. Had Durer been at home at this time, probably he would have assisted in this work; but he was then presumably at Colmar, not returning to Nurnberg till Whitsuntide next

year. He does not appear, however, to have designed for any of his godfather's publications. Drawing for the bookseller must have then had but small reward, and, a few years later, we may presume Durer was better employed. The 'Historia Hebræorum,' for example, printed by Koberger in 1517, was illustrated by Hans Schäufflein and Urze Graf, the latter a very inferior artist.

The portrait of Wohlgemuth* by his pupil, in the Munich Gallery, is inscribed, 'This portrait has Albert Durer done after his master Michel Wohlgemuth, in 1516, when he was eighty-two: after this he lived till 1519, when he died on S. Andrew's day, just before the rising of the sun.' Near this picture hangs a portrait of Martin Schön by Hans Largkmair, inscribed on the back, 'The portrait of Martin Schöngauer, called Schön because of his excellence; born at Colmar. Because of his parentage he was a burgher of Augsburg, and a noble. He died at Colmar, 1499, on February 2. God give him grace. I, Hans Largkmair, was his scholar in 1488.' If this be authentic, the story of Albert's being placed under Schön being prevented by death is a fable; but the face of the picture shows a different date; it is inscribed, 'Schön Martin, 1483,' with the mark 15L04. The time of Schön's death by universal consent is 1486–8.

Schön, or Hubsche Martin—that is, Martin the Beauti-

*. In Cabinet VII. No. 139.

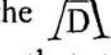
ful, or Martin the Skilful, was indeed the proper master for Durer, and there has always been a feeling of this kind associating their names—was a painter as well as an engraver, of great purity and excellence. After his death, his brothers, Gaspar, Paul, and Louis, certainly received Durer with affection, and his influence was immense and authoritative; virtually he was Albert's master, and one of the earliest and best of our artist's prints is simply a reproduction from Schön.

At this time in Venice, Florence, Mantua, and Bologna, the greatest masters were working; but we can find no influence from them on our artist's practice. In our day, any new improvements, or higher conditions in art, are so quickly known and absorbed elsewhere, that we may be surprised at this fact. In the year 1500, however, it was wholly different. Perhaps Leonardo da Vinci was a name unknown in the Franconian city; perhaps not one engraving by Mantegna had been imported there. Had the facilities of communication been easier, or the international circulation of books and prints been greater, we must suppose the Italian masters, Mantegna,* Baldini, and Robetta,† would have contributed to form his style. But he was so thoroughly German, so opposed to southern or classic

* I ought, however, to mention, that he was not ignorant of Mantegna, as an early drawing by him, a copy from Mantegna, shows.

† I am aware I here associate Robetta with earlier men than he is usually classed among. But, by internal evidence, we may assign some of

tastes, that he even resisted Venetian influence; while the three Germans, Martin Schön, Matthew Zatzinger (Martin Zagel), and Jacob Walsh (the master of the Caduceus), had all considerable authority with him.

Durer's earliest engraving is supposed to be the 'Woman in the Grasp of the Wildman' (92 in Bartsch's list, 80 in Heller's); and, judging from its unskilful graver-work, most probably it is. The second is the 'Holy Family with the Butterfly' (B. 44, H. 43). The first of these has been suspected of being a copy, the second is a direct transcript, to the minutest particular, of the engraving by Schön, a print of which is in the British Museum. The print by Schön was unknown to Bartsch, and so it has hitherto escaped observation that Durer's well-known plate is simply a reproduction, reversed as copies usually are. The dishonest practice of copying prints, and trading on the inventions of other men, was then becoming common; but this is the only instance in which Durer did so, and here he did not place Schön's monogram on the plate as Marc' Antonio did the  , but substituted his own. It is therefore possible, that this plate may have been actually done for the brothers Schöngauer during Albert's stay with them. The 'Woman and the Wildman' may

his works to a date prior to 1500. Bartsch says he flourished about 1520, founding on Vasari, who says in his life of Rustici, that Robetta was one of the companions of the Paiuolo, or Pot, a fantastic club, about 1515 or 1520. He must have been an old man at that time.

have been so done also, and 'The Lady and Gentleman Walking,' certainly one of his earliest works. The lady in this print is evidently derived from a figure in the interesting engraving by Martin Zagel, called 'The Great Ball,' which is dated 1500.* The list of engravings attributed to dates earlier than 1500 extends to twenty.

| | Heller. | Bartsch. |
|---|---|---|
| The Woman with the Wildman | 80 | 92 |
| Holy Family with the Butterfly | 43 | 44 |
| The Love-offer | 79 | 93 |
| The Messenger on the Horse | 90 | 80 |
| The Lady on the Horse | 91 | 82 |
| S. Christopher | 53 | 63 |
| The Little Fortune | 70 | 78 |
| S. Sebastian by the Pillar | 61 | 56 |
| S. Sebastian | 62 | 55 |
| The Peasant and his Wife | 83 | 83 |
| The Turk and his Wife | 87 | 85 |
| The Monster Pig | 96 | 95 |
| The Four Naked Women, 1497 | 74 | 75 |
| The Six Captains | 89 | 88 |
| The Madonna on the Half Moon | 30 | 30 |
| Christ with the Five Wounds | 23 | 20 |
| Apollo and Diana | 64 | 68 |
| Mary, Anna, and the Holy Child | 29 | 29 |
| S. Jerome Praying | 59 | 61 |
| The Prodigal Son | 28 | 28 |

The designs on wood, prior to 1500, are considerable in number, and include the sixteen Apocalypse designs, done

* Heller has not observed this, and places it among the prints supposed to be done before 1500. I have relegated it to the succeeding period, 1500 to 1506.

in 1498; the most wonderful for invention as well as the most bizarre and naïve of all the creations of Christian art. These are mediæval in spirit, and curiously contrast with the series called Raphael's Bible, or any set of designs in which the revival in Italy is represented.

| | Heller. | Bartsch. |
|---|---|---|
| The 16 Designs for the Apocalypse, 1498 | 64–79 | 65–75 |
| Holy Family with the Three Hares | 106 | 102 |
| Martyrdom of 10,000 | 127 | 117 |
| Hercules | 132 | 127 |
| The Man and Horse | 133 | 138 |
| Martyrdom of S. Katherine | 128 | 120 |
| The Bath | 134 | 128 |
| Samson Killing the Lion | 2 | 2 |
| The Calvary | 40 | 59 |
| Holy Family in a Chamber | 103 | 100 |
| S. Christopher with the Birds | 109 | 104 |

I am not sure that any of the pictures now extant, except portraits, can be with certainty attributed to this early period; but of these we have

His Father's Portrait, 1497;
His own at the age of 28, 1500;
His brother Hans', same date;
Oswald Krel, 1499:

all these in Munich. Besides these we have—

Katherine Fürleger, 1497;
Do. as the Madonna, 1497;
His own Portrait in Florence;
Do. in Madrid:

all showing his practice as a portrait painter at this time; and immediately after his return home, when, at the

age of twenty-three, he began to occupy his own home at the Thiergärtner Thor.

The list of engravings done, from 1500 to 1506, when he visited Venice, is also large.

*Copper Engravings*, 1500–6.

| | Heller. | Bartsch. |
|---|---|---|
| The Rape of Amymone | 65 | 71 |
| The Banner-bearer. | 88 | 87 |
| The Three Peasants. | 85 | 86 |
| The Cook and Housekeeper | 86 | 84 |
| The Virgin with the Ape | 42 | 42 |
| The Virgin suckling, 1503 | 36 | 34 |
| Shield with Death's Head, 1503 | 98 | 101 |
| The Dream | 73 | 76 |
| The Nativity, 1504 | 2 | 2 |
| Adam and Eve, 1504 | 1 | 1 |
| The Nemesis (falsely so called) | 69 | 79 |
| Jealousy | 67 | 73 |
| The Satyr's Family | 68 | 69 |
| The Little White Horse | 92 | 96 |
| The Great White horse | 93 | 97 |
| The Holy Family | 44 | 43 |

The list of woodcuts already given contains those up to the time of his visiting Venice.

The pictures painted within this time are less certain, and the reader must be referred to the catalogue. The 'Calvary,' now in Florence, may however be cited as showing Durer's manner at this time. It is a multitudinous composition, exhibiting on the same canvas the whole story of the Passion. In the background is the city of Jerusalem, with the crowd, and Christ bearing the

cross. The principal figures appear several times, and the foreground shows the casting of the lots. These innumerable small figures are finished in miniature, and contrast strangely with the practice of Bellini and the others he met in Venice. At this time he did the votive picture for Pirkheimer, on the death of his wife Crescentia, in 1503; a circumstance which was the probable beginning of that friendship, which increased on the part of both men up to the end of life.

In engraving, Durer had now attained his full power. The 'Adam and Eve' must have been the wonder of all who saw it, exhibiting at once all the clear and intense richness the burin is capable of. The only forerunner of Durer in softness of effect was Jacob Walsh (the master of the Caduceus), whose works Durer must have carefully studied. Indeed the figure of Apollo in his little print (B. 68), and the Satyr's family (B. 69) show that he did not disdain to derive ideas from Walsh. Other prints, the 'Shield with the Death's Head,' the 'Great and Little Horses,' and others, also show the mastery of the artist; and the little ascertainable meaning in some of these designs leads us to suppose the pleasure he must have had in producing these prints lay principally in the elaboration and texture he could now give in the difficult and hard material.

Albrecht Dürer

AGE 28

*Original Picture in the Pinacothec Munich.*

*Etched from the print by Forster*

# Chapter IV.

*DURER'S LETTERS FROM VENICE, 1506.*

DURER'S visit to Venice in 1506 was his first journey since his marriage. It appears to have been mainly undertaken to execute the altar-piece we shall find mentioned, and for which he received 110 florins. As yet, the unscrupulous and talented Marc' Antonio had not begun the many forgeries systematically manufactured and circulated to the detriment of the original artist; so that he could not have gone there to apply to the authorities to stop the piracy, as he is said to have done at a later date.

It was then an easy matter to pass between the two cities—a weekly communication by post and waggon was regularly established. The German residents were numerous, and of all classes; many adventurers, usurers, and knaves, as well as important merchants, whose interests were protected by embassies from Nurnberg and other places; and artists, among whom was living most probably Jacob Walsh.

The leading artists of the school of Venice then living were Gian Bellini, at the age of 80, still with several

years of work in him; Carpaccio, also advanced in years; Marco Basaiti, who died in 1520; Giorgione, then only 29; and Titian, the same age. While Durer was writing these friendly letters, Mantegna was actually on his death-bed at so short a distance as Mantua.

*Letter I.*—'Willing service to you, my dear Master Pirkheimer. I pray God, in the matter of health, yours may be better than mine; and I wish you and yours a good happy new year. As you requested, I looked about to buy some pearls and stones, but have only to tell you that everything good, or well worth our money, is snapped up at once, and by Germans too. And they are a rare lot! One must pay fourfold to get anything out of them; they are such cheats, and never do anyone a good turn. I have been warned to keep clear of them; and have been told that better things can be bought at Frankfort and for less money.

'As for the books you ordered, I have sent them by Imhoff, and if you want anything else let me know. I will aid you with all diligence, and wish to God I could do you more service, which would be a great pleasure to me, knowing how much you have already done for me. Meantime, I pray you, don't lose patience with me; but I dare say I think oftener than you do of the money I owe, and will honourably return with thankfulness, when God helps me home again. The picture I am to paint for the German

community will be 110 Rhenish guldens, and there will be only 5 guldens cost.* I shall prepare my design, and get it ready for painting in eight days; and, God willing! it will stand on the altar a month after Easter. Then I expect to be able to save the money, and send it to you to pay you, as I shall scarcely need to send any to my mother and wife. I left my mother 10 when I went away; she has received 9 or 10 for works of art; and the wireworker has paid her 12. I have sent her 9 by Bastian Imhoff, out of which she must pay Gartner the Whitsuntide rent. As to my wife, I gave her 12 florins, and she has had 13 from Frankfort, altogether 25. I fancy she will not need any, or, if she does, the brother-in-law can help her till I return, when I shall repay him you may be sure. Yours in good remembrance. Dated from Venice, day of the Three Kings. Greet for me Stefen Paumgärtner, and anyone else asking for me.

'ALBRECHT DURER.'

*Letter II.*—'My willing service to you, my dear sir, wishing you well with all my heart, even as I wish myself. I lately wrote you. Will you let me know whether you

* This picture, done for the embassy apparently, was a S. Bartholomew. It was afterwards in the possession of Rodolph II., and placed in the gallery of Prague. We learn from Vasari that Giorgione, just about this time, painted the façade of the German Exchange in Venice, and Titian 'certain stories upon the same building, over the Merceria.' It is remarkable that Durer says nothing of these works.

received my letter, because my mother writes, scolding me for not sending you tidings. She makes me understand you are angry at my silence. I must make haste to answer for myself; she seems as vexed as you can be. I have not much to say indeed, but that I have been idle, and that you were from home. As soon as I heard you had returned, or were returning, I immediately wrote, and I especially commanded Kastell to present my services to you. I don't hesitate to beg you to pardon me; to say the truth, I hardly have any other friend in the world. But I can't believe you are really irate against me; I hold you as nothing less than a father.

'I wish you were in Venice! There are many fine fellows among the painters, who get more and more friendly with me: it holds one's heart up. Well-brought up folks, good lute players, skilled pipers, and many noble and excellent people, are in the company, all wishing me very well, and being very friendly. On the other hand, here are the falsest, most lying, thievish villains in the whole world, I believe, appearing to the unwary the pleasantest possible fellows. I laugh to myself when they try it with me; the fact is, they know their rascality is public, although one says nothing.

'The good friends I have among the painters warn me I should not even eat and drink with these others, because of their hostility to me and my church work, abusing me

when they have a chance, and making a disturbance. They say my art is not as the antique, and therefore is not good. But Gian Bellini, who has praised me much before many gentlemen, wishes to have something from my hand. He has come himself to me, and asked me to do him something, and he will pay well for it. Several people have told me I am in great favour with him, and I understand he is a pious man; he is very old indeed, but yet the best among them.

'What pleased me eleven years ago does not give me the same pleasure now, I confess. Then I praised no one but Master Jacob; but I now let you know there are better painters here, though Anthony Kolb swears there is no better in the world than Jacob. They laugh at him for saying so, but still he continues.*

'I have just to-day begun to sketch my picture. My hands have been so bad I could not use them to work at all. Now they are better. And now be good, and don't scold me so hastily. I know you won't learn of me; I

* Campe supposes this Jacob to be a certain Jacob Elsner, a versatile and successful artist then living; but it is evidently Jacob Walsh, Giacomo de' Barbari (as a picture in the Augsburg Gallery is said to be signed, with the Caduceus added). Kolb published the great view of Venice, by Walsh, in six blocks, in 1498 or 1500, and is thus properly associated with him. Durer, moreover, admired and imitated him at an earlier time, as his 'Satyr's Family' and 'Apollo and Diana' show; the first subject having been suggested by a print by Walsh, and the figure of Apollo in the second. Now he avows a change of opinion. Passavant quite gratuitously suggests some jealousy on Durer's part.

know not why. Still I think you had better. My dear Pirkheimer, I would like to know if any sweetheart is dead—perhaps suddenly, by water?—whether one like this

or this or this that

you might get another in place of her.* Come to Venice. Given at Venice at 9 of the evening, Saturday after Candlemas, in the year 1506. My services to Stephen Baumgärtner, to Hans Harstorfer and to Folkamer.'

*Letter III.*—'My willing service to you, my dear Master Pirkheimer. I send you the ring with the sapphire about which you have lately written me. I could not send it sooner. I have been going about constantly for two days, with a skilful fellow, to all the goldsmiths, German and Italian, throughout Venice, comparing all we saw, but found none at the price. With good management I bought this for 18 ducats 4 martzells, from a man who wore it, and sold it me as a favour. I left him in the idea I was buying for myself. As soon as I had made the bargain, a German goldsmith who saw me with it, offered 3 ducats more. I hope it will please you. Every one says it is a prize, and ought to bring 50 ducats in Germany.

* 'Like a flower, a scrubbing brush, or a female dog,' in short.

You will soon see whether this be true or not. I myself don't understand this kind of thing.

'Before this I had thought of an amethyst, a good friend offered me for 12 ducats, but found it was not worth so much. After I had it I was advised to give it back, and I made up the affair by a fish dinner. I was mighty glad to get my money back again. Good men have valued the ring; the stone is not more than 19 florins Rhenish, as it weighs about 5 golden florins, so I did not overstep your mark, as you said 15 to 20 florins.

'As for the other stone you wanted, I have not been able to buy one, it is so rare; but I shall still look out for it. There is said to be much slight poor work brought from Germany, especially Frankfort, into Italy. People laugh when I speak of two ducats for jacinths: so write me, and say what more I shall do. I have seen a good diamond, but I don't yet know how much they ask for it; but if you give me the order, no doubt I can buy it.

'Emeralds are the dearest of all things here, but you can have a light amethyst for about 20 to 25 ducats.

'From one indication and another, I conclude you have taken a mistress. Take care she does not become a master. Pray be wise, and look to your real good. Andrew Künhoffer sends you his service. He will soon write: he begs you to excuse him to his master, for he has not remained at Padua; there, he says, he found nothing to

learn. Now, pray don't get angry because I have not sent you all the stones; in spite of diligence it was impossible to get them all ready.

'They say you should have the stone mounted again; the ring is old and the foil gone, but the stone is very fine. I pray you tell my mother to write to me, and do you be kind to her yourself. I commend myself to you. Given at Venice, second Sunday in Lent, 1506. I greet you: your servant,

'ALBRECHT DURER.'

*Letter IV.*—'My willing service to you, my dear sir. On the Thursday before Palm day, I received your letter with the emerald ring. I went instantly to the person from whom I got it, that I might reclaim my money. He gave it up to me unwillingly, sorry to have it on his hands again, for he was certain the jeweller had bought and sold it as a true emerald. Friends assure me the other two rings are well worth six ducats. They are considered very fine and pure, with no alloy; and I am told you should not hesitate about the price of such treasures, but secure them when they can be got. I have so managed as to lose only two ducats upon the three rings. Bernard Holdsbock was willing to bargain for them.

'I sent you a sapphire ring by Hans Imhoff, and suppose you have received it. That I hold to be a good

purchase, I was offered an advance on it. But, as I told you before, I really know nothing of the value of such things, and have to go by the advice of others.

'The painters are becoming very obnoxious to me. They have had me three times before the Lords, and compelled me to give four good florins to their guild.

'Now I see I might have made a good deal of gold, if I had not taken in hand this picture for the Germans. It takes great work, and I can't expect to have it done before Whitsuntide. As I only receive eighty-five ducats, you may suppose my purse is soon empty. I have bought some things, and sent some money away, so that I am cleared out. But, you may believe me, I wish to be economical till God grants me wherewith to repay you. I might easily have made 100 florins but for this picture, for all the world wishes me well—except the painters.

'About my brother: tell my mother to speak to Wohlgemuth. If he can be of use, let Wohlgemuth give him work, or help him somehow till I return. I would willingly have brought him with me here, which would have done him good, and he would have learned the language; but she was afraid the sky would fall upon us both. I beg you watch that he does not lose himself with women. Advise the boy to hold himself honest and sensible till I come, and not be a trouble to my mother. Though I cannot command the Fates, I shall try my best.

'For myself I am still unruined, but have still to reap the harvest. It is very hard that no one throws his money at me. Remind my mother to see after the sale of the Easter eggs;* yet I feel that my wife will be home, and I have written everything to her.

'I will not buy the diamond unless you write. I am sure I can't leave this before harvest, if even the picture is ready by Pentecost. All goes at present for necessaries, yet I hope to be able to keep some money for you, but cannot tell what may be depended on from day to day.

'I write home as if I was coming soon, but still I hesitate what to do exactly. I do not know indeed what I shall do, so write me again.

'ALBRECHT DURER, your servant.'

*Letter V.*—'My willing service to dear Master Pirkamer. When you are well, it gives me great joy. I also am well by the grace of God, and hard at work, but I think I can't be ready before Pentecost.

'I have sold all my pictures except one. Two for twenty-four ducats; the other three I have given for three

* All this about his young brother Hans is most interesting. It is clear that, at this time, the Durer family were but poorly off. The Easter eggs are still sold in Nurnberg, Prague, and elsewhere, some of them elaborately painted and gilt. In St. Petersburg porcelain eggs with gold arabesques are in demand. Hans, we may presume, was to make himself useful in painting these eggs.

rings which were knocked down to me for twenty-four ducats; but friends tell me their value is twenty-two. As you have told me to buy you such things, I thought I would send you these rings to see what they are, and have them estimated if you wish to keep them. If, however, you do not want them, return them by next messenger, for here one of my acquaintances will get me twelve ducats for the emerald, and ten for the ruby and diamond; so I shall not lose more than two ducats. I wish you could be here, the time would pass quickly. Here are pleasant people to meet, true artists. I have sometimes such a crowd of strangers visiting me, I have to hide myself to get painting. All the noblemen* wish me well, but few painters.

'My dear sir, Andrew Künhoffer sends you his service. He will write you by next messenger. I commend myself to you. Will you tell my mother how much I wonder at her long silence; also I begin to think I have lost my wife, it is so long since she wrote. I have read yours written about me to Sebastian Imhoff. I beg you to give the two enclosed to my mother, and to cultivate patience towards me till God's time; you know I will honourably pay you. Greet S. Baumgärtner and other good friends for me. Let me know if any of your loves are dead. Make out this writing as well as you can; I

* 'Tzentilamen' is the word in the original: Gentiluomini, those in the Libro d'Oro.

have had to hurry it. Given in Venice, Saturday before Whitsunday (Weissen-sundag), 1506.

'ALBRECHT DURER.

'The morning is good confession time.'

*Letter VI.*—'*Grandissimo primo homo de mundo, woster serfitor ell schiavo Alberto Dürer. dizi salus suo magnifico Miser Willibaldo Pircamer my fede el alby wolontiri cum grando pisir woster sanita e grando honor el my maraw eio como ell possibile star uno homo cosi son contra thanto sapientissimo Tirasibaly milztas non altro modo ny sy una gracia de Dio quando my leser woster litera de questi strania fysa de catza my habe thanto paura et para my uno grande kosa.** But I hold that the Scots have frightened you, and you would yourself appear wild and singular, going along in a kilt at a splitting pace.† It is an ill sign when such lansquenets anoint themselves with civet. You would also be soft as a swan, and you think all is right if the woman is pleased. However, you need not scorn to be an amiable fellow like me; you have so many affairs on hand; and yet, when you fail in one, you are a month or longer in recovering.

* Such is the polyglot of Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, which I may leave for the reader's amusement, as it means little besides compliments.

† The words in the original are 'wild und sunderlich im heilten wen Ir den schritt hypferle zand.' I translate heilten (Keilten) kilt, on the authority of the Rev. Alex. Reid, of Girvan, Ayrshire, whom I have consulted under difficulties.

'Thanks for having arranged my affairs with my wife in the best way. I know there is much wisdom locked up in you; if you were only tender-hearted (like myself for example) you would have every excellence. Thanks also about the rings; letting me do as I like. "If they don't please, off with their heads and throw them on the midden," as Peter Weisbecker says.

'What do you think, by degrees I am drawn on to be quite a great man (Gentilam) in Venice. But I hear you are making rhymes: you would be in capital company with our fiddles here, which are so skilful they weep of themselves. I wish to God our reckoning-mistress* (*rechenmeisterin*) could hear them, even she might weep. But I will follow your advice, not letting my anger get the better of me, but going on as I have done hitherto.

'I cannot leave this in two months. I have nothing to send, as I have already told you; therefore I beg you will give my mother ten florins if she wants them, till God helps me forward. Of course I will thankfully pay you all. I send the Venice glass by the courier. As to the two carpets, Anthony Kolb will help me to choose the handsomest and cheapest: I shall give them to young Imhoff to send to you. I shall see after the crane's pens; as yet I have seen none, but only swan's, which they write with here, and these you might stick in your hat for a

* He speaks here of his wife.

while. I have asked a printer about the Greek works: he says none have appeared lately, but when any are published he will let me know, and I can communicate with you. Let me know what paper you want, but I really think there is none finer than we have at home, and there are no special books of a historic sort worth my choosing for your present studies: you can select best for yourself.

'I have written you lately by the messenger Kantengysserle. I wish you would tell me if you are yet friendly with Kunz Imhoff. Let me pray you to remember me to our Prior.* Tell him to say some prayers for my preservation from disease, and especially my preservation from "Frankzosen." There is no evil I fear so much, for nearly every one has it here, and many are so eaten up, they die.†

'Salute S. Baumgärtner for me, Master Lorenz, and sweethearts and friends asking after me.

'ALBERTUS DURER,

'Norikorius sibus (civis?).

'Venice, 8 August, 1506.'

'*Item.* Andrew is here and sends you his service. He is not strong, and is sadly in want of money: long sickness and debt have swallowed up all he had. I have lent him

* Euchius Karl, prior of the Augustines.

† One of the leading features of this age was the spread of the dreadful disease then brought, it is supposed, from the New World. At this precise time it was not yet known to be communicated by contact.

eight ducats, but do not speak of it; he would think I mistrusted him. You know he will have his harvest yet: every one wishes him well.* If the King comes to Italy, I propose to go with him to Rome.'

*Letter VII.*—'Most learned, wise, valued, experienced in many tongues, quick at discovering lies, sure discoverer of truth, completed Herr Wilbalt Pirkamer, your servant A. D. gives you honourable greeting—"en Diawulo tanto pella tyansa chi tene pare Io vole denegiare cor woster." You believe, I dare say, that I am an orator of a hundred powers,—a room must have more than four corners for the ideas to sit like gods. But I will not bewilder my head with the matter, in it there is not room enough even for my pencil. The Margraf would not give audience to 100 items, every item 100 words: it would need 9 days, 7 hours, 52 minutes, not reckoning the time for groans. One does not arrive at once at such oratory, though one may wish to speak like Tettel (Tetzel?).†

'I have been looking for carpets as well as Anthony Kolb, but we cannot find any; they are all long and narrow. Bernard Hirsfogel sends you greetings, and again

* If this was his brother Andrew, which is not likely however, as Albert would have spoken of him more affectionately, he was now twenty-three.

† All this has reference, no doubt, to Pirkheimer's last letter now lost. He was at this time one of an embassy sent by Nurnberg to the Confederation. The negotiation still exists in the archives of Nurnberg, under the title of conventions between the Margrave of Brandenburg and the city of Nurnberg, 1506.

offers his service; he is much troubled, for his son is dead, the prettiest boy I ever saw in all my days. I cannot find the fool's feathers you want; you must write your best without them.

'Oh if you were but here, what fine Italian lansquenets you would see.* I wish to God you could examine their boot-hose; they have *roncoins* (bills) with 218 points, and if they pink a man with any of these points, the man is dead, as they are all poisoned. I do my best to please them. The Venetians form large companies of these fellows; the Pope too and the King of France. What is going to come out of it, I don't know. They make sport of our King.

'Good luck to Stefen Baumgärtner! I do not wonder he has taken a wife. Remember me to Borcht, Lorenz, the handsome serving-maid, and also to our reckoning-mistress (*rechnmeisterin*): thanks to your chamber-maid for her greeting, but I hear she is only a slattern.

* Pirkheimer had command of the Nurnberg contingent, when the Emperor Max ordered the muster and marched into Italy. This took place later, but he must have had a taste for soldiers.

'I have sent your palm wood from Venice to Augsburg, where it can lie: it weighs two hundred weight. They will not look after it, *sponte vel spinte.*

'You would give a ducat to see my picture, it is so good and rich in colour. I have great praise for it but little profit. I might easily have made 200 in the time, and have had to refuse good offers. I might in fact have returned by this time. I have silenced all the painters, who say, "He engraves well, but he knows little about colour." Indeed every one praises the colour.

'My French mantle and my Italian coat greet you, both of them!

'But, seriously, you are getting into such bad odour; I can scent you out at this distance. You go about making love everywhere, you can't be more than five and twenty. I can believe it, though we may reckon otherwise. There are Italian perennials here just the same: *I* can't make them out.

'The Doge and the Patriarch* have both seen my picture. Let me hear from you. Truly I must go to sleep, it strikes seven at night. I have written to the Prior of the Augustines, to my sister-in-law, the Trittrichen,† and to my wife, spoiling good white pages. Now I must end.

* Leonardo Loredano was Doge 1500 to 1521. The Patriarch of Venice at this time was Antonio Suriano.

† My adviser Mr. Reid would translate this 'Little Gretchen;' Narrey translates it, 'la marchande de couleur.'

No doubt you think me slow, and would be more amused talking to the Princess. Good night then, and good day too.

'At Venice, on Lady's day in September. Item: I think you need not lend my mother or wife any money.

'ALBRECHT DURER.'

*Letter VIII.*—'As I know you believe in my good will to be serviceable to you, I need not write of that; but I must tell you of the joy I have had, hearing of your masculine wisdom and enlightened knowledge of things. It is surprising such qualities should be found in so juvenile a body; but they are God's gifts, no doubt, like some I receive myself! We are both so well off, and think so much of ourselves naturally, I with my pictures, you with your wisdom. When the crowd glorify us, we keep our chins in the air, and perhaps some one is making sport of us behind our backs. Don't let us believe all the praises we get; as for you, you may be naughtier than you fancy, and no great credit. Methinks I see you with the Margravine, and how you do talk, just as you coquet and bargain with that rose girl.

'I find from your letters you have been making yourself happy with H * * *. You ought to be ashamed of yourself: remember you are an old fellow, and not so handsome either. Your love-making must be like a great

hairy dog playing with a kitten. If I was burgomaster I would tame you; I would shut you up in the Lant;* shut you up at once, and with you the Mezereon, the Rose, the Southernwood, Ash, Leek, and others I know not. It seems I am in request as well as you; that is, you say so: that H * * * and other pious women ask after me must be a good sign of me; but if God helps me home, I don't know how I shall live with you, you are becoming so wise. Still I am glad to think of your virtue and gentleness; you would not hurt a lamb, so even a dog may be the better for you. So great a man will never go about the streets again talking with Durer the hard-up painter—with a poltroon of a painter.†

'O. I. Hr. Pirkheimer,‡ even so it is, I can write to you so merrily; though there has been a fire that burned six hours near by Peter Penders, and I had woollen cloth burned which cost me eight ducats, so I have cause to look grave. There are many reports about the fire.

'After hearing from you I shall soon come home, only I want to carry away enough for my needs. I have given out 100 ducats for colours and other things. I have bespoke two carpets for you, which I pay for to-morrow, but I have not been able to buy them with advantage. I

* The Lant was a tower used apparently as a menagerie.

† 'Cum pultron de pentor!' Pirkheimer was a linguist, and Durer is 'fooling him to the top of his bent.'

‡ These letters are possibly initials of a title.

shall pack them with my things. You say you will make love to my wife if I don't come back soon, but that won't do unless your bride be dead.

'I must tell you I have actually been to learn dancing here, and have been twice to school; I must pay the master a ducat. No one could get me into it however, so I have lost all my trouble, and can do nothing.

'Pott the messenger will bring the Venetian glass. I can find nothing new indeed in the Greek tongue. I shall send a ream of your paper. I thought Kepler had more of it. I could not get the pens you would have liked, but I have since bought white ones; if I find green ones I shall buy them to bring with me. Stefan Baumgärtner has written me to buy him fifty grains of carnelian for a rosary. I have done so, but paid dear. I shall send them by next messenger.

'I will let you know, as you request, when I am coming back, so that the embassy (*meine heren*) may be apprised what to do. I may be finished here in ten days. On leaving this I should like to go to Bologna for an artistic reason; to learn the mystery of perspective an artist there can teach. I shall return here in eight or ten days, and then homewards by the next courier. Alas! how shall I live in Nurnberg after the bright sun of Venice? Here I am the lord, at home only the hanger-on (*schmarotzer*).

'I had many things to write, but will soon be with you

myself. Let me know if the old corn mill you gave me is still fit for use. Given at Venice, I know not what day of the month, about fourteen days after Michaelmas, 1506.

'ALBRECHT DURER.

'Let me know if any one of your children is dead. You once wrote me that Joseph Rumell has married your daughter; but how am I to tell which of them?

'Had I only my piece of cloth again! My mantle is also perhaps burned with it; if so, I shall go mad. Am I not unlucky? a debtor the other day ran off with eight ducats of mine.'

## Chapter V.

*AGNES DURER.—JACOB WALSH.—DURER'S WORKS TO 1514.—HIS POETRY.*

THESE letters are addressed to 'My good lord the honourable and wise Wilbolt Pirkamer, burgher of Nurnberg.' If we read them by the light of the portraits of the two men, writer and receiver, the contrast is very amusing. Durer, with a face of perfect manly beauty, both in form and expression, indeed, resembling the ideal head attributed to the founder of Christianity; Pirkheimer with coarse features, without elegance, heavy and large-boned, indicating a short man tending to obesity. Durer, anxious about many things, bothered by the wickedness of those about him, and anxious to assure Pirkheimer that he is certain to pay some debt or other, perhaps contracted to enable him to enjoy this holiday, the weight of all his family still on his shoulders however far he may travel; the other occupying the artist by trumpery commissions for jewellery, and other trifling belongings. Durer having left a wife at home, whom he only mentions as requiring some care, and as a landlady casting up the reckoning; Pirkheimer, the widower, with marriageable

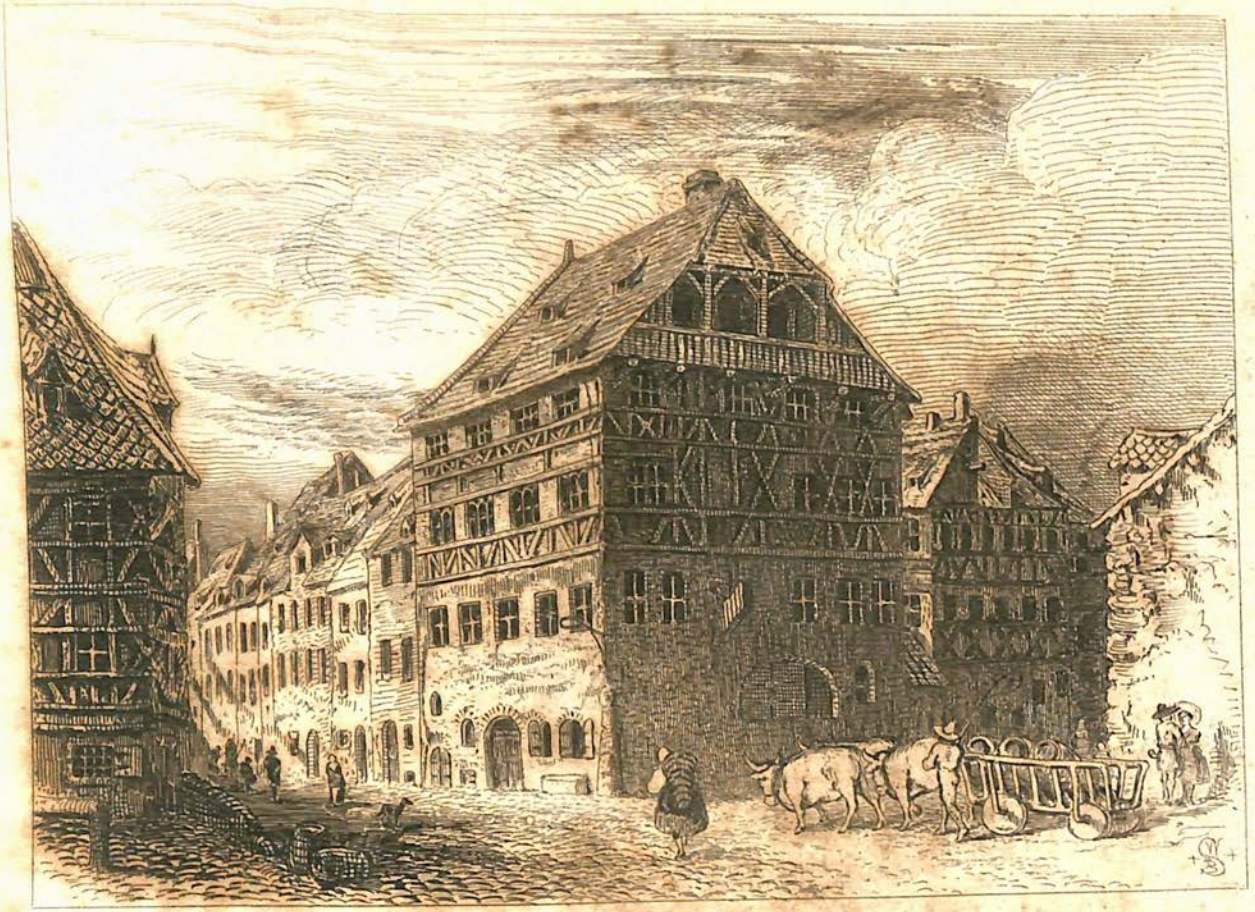
daughters, although only thirty-six, and one year older than our artist, having no end of intrigues and light-o'-loves, and at the same time employed at court on state affairs and at the meetings of the 'Sodalitas Literaria,' enjoying the forgery of Celtes in passing off his indecent imitations of Plautus, as the work of the Abbess Roswitha.

Durer's few notices of Agnes, we have observed, are such as tend to confirm the character given of her in later years. Even at this early period of their union, there seems to have been but little love left. If the union were not prolonged in such cases, how much better it would be! the man would be restored to all his energies, and the woman would learn how little outside friends would accept the troubles she caused. The amiable husband is the victim, and it does seem reasonable that a wife, whose love for her husband is so cold, and whose sense of the natural relations of the sexes is so weak that she is unable to sacrifice her wishes and ways, should be removed. The law of divorce should set her on her own feet again. But, as it is, the man must carry through life the live incubus; the sky is darkened to him, the marriage bed and board are rival hells to the sensitive. Agnes had no children. She is represented as pious, peevish, urgent for industry, parsimony, and privacy. We seem to recognise her; a woman physically unloving, unenjoying; such stuff as saints are made of. But, alas for Albert, returning to

this wife, and to the coarse, purse-proud, controversial, trading community of the free northern town!

If Durer had never returned, but remained under the sun of Italy, as we now know he could have done, the Signory having made such overtures to him (doubtless on account of his engravings), he would have been happier. Beauty was the supreme Madonna in Italy, but in Albert's mind it was Duty. And he was so entirely a German, he could not have remained with advantage, although Jacob Walsh had done so, and lost all trace of national character. Durer's allusion to Master Jacob is most interesting. That the Jacob mentioned is Walsh, the association of the name with Anthony Kolb is nearly certain evidence, Kolb having been his publisher or employer. Dr. Campe says it could not be Walsh, because he was already dead in 1500; but of this I can find no evidence. If so, the mastery of his engravings, and the perfect freedom in his drawing from any archaic taint, would be still more surprising than it is. Besides, there appears to be a picture in Augsburg, dated 1504, which proves him still to have been alive, and Durer's mention of him in his 'Journal' in the Low Countries in 1520 indicates his recent decease.

Durer's mention of Jacob has been criticised as derisive: this therefore could not be Walsh, they say, seeing that Durer imitated him in his early works, must have been, indeed, inspired by him. But I fail to see anything that



ALBERT DURER'S HOUSE.

*Seen from the Thiergartner Thor.*

can be construed into ingratitude; and the main interest of the sentence lies in the acknowledgment that his judgment had changed, and that he did not now admire the Italianised Nurnberger so much as he had done. It is certain that, after this time, and much as he enjoyed Italy and admired Bellini, we see no diminution of his Teutonic, and little of his mediæval character; no new admiration of the antique. The Italian influence that afterwards modified his practice was that of Raphael.

We follow Durer back to Nurnberg and to his labours. Whatever social position, humble or otherwise, his father or his master may have placed him in, we now find him necessarily in the front, associating with Lazarus Spengler, Stabius, and others; and, as far as the dates on his works enable us to judge, the turning-point in his fortunes had come.

Although nearly all the popular anecdotes of the poverty of great painters have been critically erased from history, still we know that great prosperity was enjoyed only by the minority. In Durer's case it was doubtless his engravings that secured his income. They must have circulated very largely; they became an article of commerce, and went to Venice and Frankfort in vast numbers, so that he became celebrated from Rome to Utrecht.

The five or seven following years were the most productive of his life. He now began the habit of signing

and dating, so that we know the history of each print, and it is unnecessary to give here a list distinct from the catalogue, at the close of the volume.

It is enough to say that, from 1507 to 1514, were executed all his great inventions and suites of designs:—

The Little Passion on copper, 16 miniatures of wonderful finish,
The various Veronicas, S. Georges and Virgin groups,
S. Jerome in his Cell,
S. Hubert (Eustache),
Melancholy,
The Knight and Death.

Altogether the engravings and etchings dated or attributed to the period 1507 to 1514 inclusive, amount to forty-eight in number, embracing the most perfect and elaborate. And on wood he drew

The Little Passion (the Fall and Redemption), 36 prints,
The Great Passion, 12 in number,
Life of the Virgin, 20;

and a mass of other work, over 100 altogether. This shows great power of application and certainty of hand; and we cannot expect many pictures of a studied character during the same period. All these engravings must have been continually in the printer's hands; several editions of the larger works were quickly issued; and the number still existing all over Europe astonish one with a sense of the quantity that must have been issued, even after making allowance for the reprintings of subsequent times. His

prices, as we shall see in the 'Journal,' were very small to our eyes; but to speak of him henceforth as anything but a rich man is folly. He must have taken a place among the warm burghers, frugal and farseeing, of the town of which it was said, 'Nurnberg's hand reaches every land.'

The sunshine of court favour also now lit upon him. Kaiser Max, a large, magnanimous, imperial nature, vain of his power, and desirous of its celebration, generally living elsewhere, but sometimes in the castle of Nurnberg, we can with certainty believe frequently visited Durer in his studio, and took an interest in his doings. At a later time, when the large blocks of the Triumphal Car* were in progress, he displayed great curiosity and impatience, not only visiting the artist, but the *formschneider*, Jerome Rösch, who cut them, almost daily.†

Durer was made painter to the Emperor with a pension of one hundred florins a year, and had a grant of arms, three shields on a blue field, according to Carl van Mander.

* It is next to certain Durer never engraved on wood, only drew the design with a pen. Ottley and others think that he may have occasionally engraved, and that 'God the Father with the Body of Christ in the Clouds' may be his own cutting. But the supposition is gratuitous; even time will not permit it.

† This anecdote is told in Murr's *Journal*, 2nd theil, s. 156–9, where it is quoted from Neudörffer, who collected particulars of the Nurnberg artists in 1546. Rösch lived in the wide street approached by Fraüengässlein, a narrow lane; and it became a proverb (to quote from Chatto's *History of Wood Engraving*, p. 287), 'The Emperor still often drives to Petticoat Lane.'

This fact I find corroborated by a small engraving by H. Sebald Beham (B. 258) dated 1535, representing a genius holding the Durer crest, the blackamoor's head, in one hand,* and resting the other on a shield with the bearings named. This engraving seems done in grateful remembrance by the master's pupil. The following letter, showing the Emperor's interest in Albert, probably took the grave and reverend seniors of the Council by surprise.

*To the Council of the City of Nurnberg.*

'Honourable and dear Lieges. The care which our liege Albert Durer has always shown towards us in the execution of works of art, we have commanded of him; the assurance we have of his continuing to so serve us; and the pleasure we have derived from such works, have determined us to aid and serve him in a special manner.

'We therefore demand of you that you forthwith, and with good will, exempt him from communal imposts, and all other contributions in money, in testimony of our friendship for him, and for the sake of the marvellous art of which it is but just that he should freely benefit.

'We trust that you will not refuse the demand we now make and address to you, because it is proper, as far as possible, to encourage the arts he cultivates and so largely develops among you.

* See remarks on No. 161, in the Catalogue of Wood Engravings, in the Appendix

'You will thus acknowledge the singular goodwill that we have always shown to you and your city.

'Given at our imperial town of Landau, the 12th of the month of December 1512, of our reign the 27th. *Ad mandatum Dmi Imperatoris M. ppria.*'

This demand of the Emperor is a further proof of the importance of Durer's trade, as it seems to refer to commercial imposts. Whether the free town resented the imperial interference, or any jealous feeling was shown by his brother citizens, we know not; but Durer says, in a letter to the Council at a later time, that he had renounced the privilege. We find, however, that he continued to receive till his death 100 guldens a year as a honorarium. Sometimes he lived at the court at Augsburg (twice at least we know), and at home he must have been looked upon as an honour to his native city.

At this time he wrote another series of letters still preserved, those to Jacob Heller in Frankfort. These are, for the most part, short business letters about their transactions, especially a 'Mariabildt' he wanted to sell, but feared he would not, he had had it so long by him; so he offered it at a small price. Afterwards he writes he has sold it well for seventy-two florins to the Bishop of Breslau.*

* The painter, it is now seen, congratulated himself too soon, as a letter from the Bishop to 'the worthy Wolfgang Hofmann of Nurnberg' shows. He says in this letter, the *Marienbild*, painted by Durer, which he had from him some years ago, was still unpaid, and that payment having been

The ubiquitous Hans Imhoff is here also with his friendly assistance. These letters I will spare the reader, but in one there is an allusion to Agnes, which is worth notice as an illustration of her character. Albert says his *housefrau* prays Heller to let her have a gratuity; and in the next letter, the last of the series, Durer thanks Heller, on the part of his wife, for the favour: 'What you sent her she will wear for your sake.' Such an incident, however, it is but justice to remark, may have had quite a different character then from what it appears to have now. But Dr. Campe looks upon it as an indication of usurious tendencies, 'very characteristic,' he concludes, 'of the reckoning-mistress Agnes!'

These letters are dated for the most part in 1509, in which year Durer began to write verses, the most important pieces of which we must produce here. His own account of his poetic attempts is amusing. The paper wherein he records the matter is dated 1509. He first quotes a doggrel couplet, and says, 'This is the first rhyme I made, but when Bilibald Pirkamer saw it, he laughed at

asked, he will be glad if his good friend would enquire into the price and let him know; which being done he would write to Augustine Eber, or Wilhelm Artzt, about defraying the expense. Whether he ever got paid or not, the picture has quite disappeared, and no recollection of it exists at Breslau. Well might Durer incline to fall back upon engraving as the more profitable art, as he says in these letters and elsewhere that painting is a loss to him from the difficulty he had in disposing of his pictures. Even the Emperor was the patron of his engravings, rather than of his paintings.

me, saying the lines should have only eight syllables: so I made these,—

> Mit grosser Begier, Ehr und Lob,
> Bitt' ich Gott umb die acht Gob,

and eighteen more,' which we need not quote or translate. Then he asked Lazarus Spengler (the learned recorder of Nurnberg) to give him his advice, who also makes sport of the painter, and shows him what *he* can do in the making of verse. Albert revenges himself by a response, ending with lines to this effect,—

> So I shall make my rhymes,
> And the lawyer laugh no more,
> Said the hairy-bearded painter
> To the satirical clerk!

After this follows a piece prefaced thus:—'1510, this have I made on "Good and Bad Friends."' This and the following pieces I paraphrase, rather than translate word for word:—

> Who falls behind when troubles rise,
> And lightly credits scoffs and lies;
> Who cannot in his own heart know
> Which is the friend, and which the foe;
> Who thinks himself for ever right,
> And wears us out by day and night;
> Who still must rule, who chides and scorns,
> And goes about as if he had horns!
> Is such a one the man of might,
> The friend we hold by, always right?

Who looks as if asking heads to bow,
And knees to bend before his brow:
Companionship of such as this,
It seems to me 'twere best to miss.
Whoever is thy worthy friend
Employs no arts, no selfish end
Is his; he tries to keep you straight;
Walks not before, nor is too late,
Nor leaves thee in thy needs; his hand
Is armed when you in battle stand;
Can show compassion too, even tears,
When sorrow or Atropos appears.
He never makes you feel how strong
And good he is, though you be wrong!
To honour such a friend take heed,
Let nothing part you, word or deed:
He is the gift of God; you must
Do nothing to impair the trust.

Durer's other poems were printed under woodcut designs:—'Death and the Soldier;' 'The Teacher,' 1510; and one on the 'Passion,' under a woodcut headed 'Christus am Kreuz,' of the same date. The pious and moral tendencies of the painter come out in these attempts at poetry; indeed, the poet is very second to the moralist. The design at the top of the 'Teacher' represents a pedagogue and his boys, and the verses are only maxims strung together.

## THE TEACHER.

(Der Lehrer, 1510.)

*These verses are appended to the print, B.* 133.

Who will not to my teaching yield
His heart and mind a fruitful field,
In the struggles of life his brand may be
Against himself worse than his enemy.

What ought to be secret, keep it so,
If you would peace and quiet know;
Few counsellors can remain so fast
They will not turn and change at last.
If you would be happy, do not find
Mocking and drolling much to your mind.
Laugh not, if laughing may annoy,
For there are many who make great joy
Of neighbour's ills, and think the worst
Of all one does; let these be curst,
And with them envy and jealousy,
Passions that twist whatever we see.
But try to have some end of good
By those who hear you understood;
And if they do not understand,
Stupid of head, or hard of hand,
Receive them not as friends; and more,
If you see either a fault or a sore,
Do not speak doubtfully,
Thoughtlessly, hastily;
Stick by truth and do not lie;
Use no craft, but candidly
Say and do as prompts your heart,
For, otherwise, you surely part

From God, betraying yourself, and be
Only of manhood a mockery.

Judge not rashly; do not scorn;
Say not, 'I am better, am born
For greater things;'—if thus you grow
Vain, you ride with the devil I know.
Again, be slow to anger; think
Twice before you leap the brink;
Think twice, this is more worth than gold:
For there are times to be angry, to hold
The sword, but still I say again
Think twice, nor answer foolish men.
Suffer; be patient; overhead
Something for thee will be answered,
That thing you wanted, or another,
Providence is the richest mother:
Moreover, moderation grows
To be your custom even to foes.

And when, in these days, argument
Arises to no man's content,
With neither party build your nest,
Most like the middle way is best;
If this you see not, stay behind,
Drink no one's bath, fight not the wind.
Let pass what does not suit thee; love
Justice; but pity 's from above,
And makes you better; go not near
What gives you needless pain or fear;
Forget not modesty; be brave;
No deadly heartache shalt thou have;
Sincere and mild, I do not see
What on this earth can injure thee.

## THE PASSION.

(Christus am Kreuz, 1510.)

*Verses appended to the small print, B. 55.*

### *Matins.*

By God the Father's laws decreed
God-man the Son his sufferings dreed.
First he was bought by lying Jews,
And brought up bound in felon's noose;
At matin time thus was he taken,
His human heart with sorrow shaken.
All his disciples and his friends
Turned away to their own ends,
Only Mary, mother and maid,
Stedfast stood in her woes arrayed.

### *First Hour.*

So to Pilate was he brought
By falsest witnesses distraught:
He was mocked and beaten sore,
But that all patiently he bore.
As the prophet wrote of old,
So it came, as we are told.
Blindfold they him, and ask him then,
When they struck the king of men—
Tell us which of us did strike thee,
If thou canst like a seér see!

### *Third Hour.*

Mark again, at the third hour all
These villain Jews did shout and call,

Crucify him ! crucify him !
Till Pilate also did deny him,
And pointed to him with his hand,
As all in purple did he stand,
Mockingly, and crowned with thorn,
'Lo ! the king they would adorn !'
They made him under his cross to go,
And suffer immeasurable woe !

*Sixth Hour.*

They nailed aloft upon the tree
His noble, delicate, fair body ;
Alas, what suffering made him cry,
'I thirst !' before his flesh did die.
They gave him vinegar mixed with gall,
While darkness over them did fall ;
The left-hand robber scoffed at him,
That moment when his eyes grew dim,
The right-hand robber prayed for grace,
And rose anon to the heavenly place.

*Ninth Hour.*

At the ninth hour he died, and we
By his death live eternally :
The All-great Father be obeyed,
And down to hell, in his powers arrayed,
Went he, and took his own again,
Drawing them out of all their pain ;
While a soldier pierced him in the side !
The sun its sorrowful face did hide,
And the shiverings of a great earthquake
From out their graves the dead saints shake.

*Vespers.*

At vesper time, from the high tree,
The Lord was lowered to Mary's knee,
Stark and stiff, and hidden away,
In God's care was his life that day.
O man, this diligently read,
And find the treasure in thy need.
O pure maid Mary, 'twas to be,
And Simeon's sword has pierced thee;
The crown of the earth laid low we see,
And all our sins have remedy.

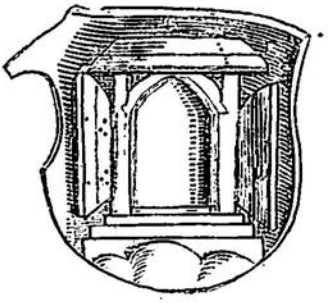
*Compline.*

Joseph of Arimathee then came,
And Nicodemus did the same;
By them the noble Lord was laid
In the tomb all properly arrayed,
With right rich spices smelling sweet,
As Jewish custom was complete.
And all these things were done, they knew,
That prophets' words might so be true.
Let's learn and bear all this at heart,
Making the sorrow ours in part.

*Let us Pray.*

O Almighty Lord and God,
Who the martyr's press hast trod,
Jesus, the only God, the Son,
Who all this to thyself hast done,
Keep it before us to-day and to-morrow,
Give us continual rue and sorrow;

Wash me clean and make me well,
I pray thee, like a soul from hell.
Lord, thou hast overcome; look down;
Let us at last to share the crown.



THE DURERS' SHIELD.
(*A pictorial pun on the name, presumably invented by Albert.*)

SHIELD GRANTED TO ALBERT DURER BY THE EMPEROR.
(*From a small print by H. S. Beham,* 1535.)

# Chapter VI.

*DURER'S IMITATORS: MARC' ANTONIO, HOPFER, &c.—HIS DESIGNS: KNIGHT OF DEATH, MELANCHOLY, GREAT FORTUNE, &c.*

NO sooner had the tide of fortune begun to flow towards Durer, by means of the sale of his prints, than he had to contend with dishonest counterfeits, and experienced the difficulty of protecting himself from imitators. The plan of international copyright in literary works is only now, after all these centuries, become a subject for legislation. But an international arrangement for published works of art (I do not speak of photographs) would seem to be rendered unnecessary by the difficulty and outlay involved in re-engraving.

The immense popularity of Durer's works among the religious public in Germany, at this time of excitement, was very great; and even in Italy it would seem to have been nearly as general. It was sufficient to cause the young and rapid Marc' Antonio Raimondi to devote himself for years to the systematic copying of 'The Life of the Virgin,' the 'Little Passion,' and other works, as fast as they appeared.

If any further evidence of the profitable extent of the

sale of an artist's engraved works were required, it would be found in this wholesale piracy. The most able engraver in Italy employed himself, year after year, not only before his settlement in Rome, but after it, when he enjoyed Raphael's friendship, and had that master's sketches placed at his disposal, in imitating Durer's woodcuts on copper, forging the monogram at the bottom, and selling them for the work of the master! Marc' Antonio was born about 1488; so he was but a young man, although already the *caposcuola*, and was drawing about him other men of talent—Agostino Veneziano and Marco of Ravenna. These were probably younger than himself, one of the early works of Veneziano being a print which must have been executed after the date of the publication of the 'Life of the Virgin.' It was also a forgery, a very curious example of the unscrupulous character of Italian artists, representing *Raphael's* 'Venus and Cupid' *after Marc' Antonio*, with a background made up from Durer's 'Rape of Amymone' and 'S. Hubert!' And it is to be observed he did not place to this *rechauffé* the monogram of Marc' Antonio but of Durer, showing how much more popular even in Italy were the works of the German. Another proof of this is the much finer print called 'La Vierge à la Porte,' which has been made up by putting pieces together from various designs in the 'Life of the Virgin.'* Altogether

* See a Paper by G. W. Reid, of the British Museum, in *Fine Arts Quarterly*, N.S. vol. i. Mr. Reid discovered the composite character of

Marc' Antonio copied nearly seventy prints, principally woodcuts; and, when he reproduced the engravings on copper, he did not attempt to rival the delicacy of finish and fulness of effect.

We have seen Albert on leaving Venice go to Bologna, to learn the mystery of perspective from an able artist there. This was Francia (Raibolini), who had been a goldsmith in his youth, and was a skilful engraver, as well as a great and noble painter. Marc' Antonio, who must have been but eighteen years of age or so, might have been Francia's pupil at the very time of this visit. The few dated subjects in the 'Life of the Virgin' bear the dates 1509 and 1510, yet two of the imitations on copper by Marc' Antonio bear 1506, suggesting the possibility that Durer, having had them lying by him waiting till the whole were ready, had given proofs of them to the youth at this time. If the date 1506 be a true date it must have been so, and, perhaps without any clear idea of defrauding Durer, Marc' Antonio had at once set himself to the task of copying.* Vasari's account of the transaction is, however, very different.

Vasari says, 'Marc' Antonio departed from Bologna

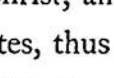
this design, which had escaped the observation of Passavant and other writers.

* Mr. Richard Fisher, in his biographical notice of Marc' Antonio, published to the members of the Burlington Club, on the occasion of the

with the good favour of his master Francia, and repaired to Venice, where he was well received among the artists of that city. At the same time there arrived in the same place certain Flemings, who brought numerous copper-plate engravings and woodcuts by Durer, which were then seen by Marc' Antonio exposed for sale on the Piazza di San Marco. Amazed at what he beheld, and charmed with the excellent execution of Albert, Marc' Antonio spent almost all the money he had brought from Bologna in the purchase of these plates; and among others he bought the Passion of our Saviour Christ, thirty-six woodcuts, which had been completed but a short time previously by the Flemish master, and which, commencing with the fall of Adam and with his expulsion from Paradise, continued to the descent of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles.

'Marc' Antonio, perceiving to what honour and profit the man might aspire who should attach himself to that branch of art in Italy, determined to devote his whole time thereto, and commenced his work with all possible zeal and diligence. He first began by copying these engravings thus obtained of Albert Durer, carefully studying the method of each stroke, and every other particular of the prints he had thus purchased, and *which had*

exhibition there, in 1868, of the collected works of this celebrated engraver, says he has come to the conclusion that the date was false, added afterwards for some reason or other.

*obtained so much reputation by their novelty and beauty, that all were seeking to become possessed of them.* Having thus imitated the woodcuts with strong lines on copperplates, which he rendered as similar as possible to the work of Albert Durer, until he had copied all the said thirty-six plates of the Life and Passion of Christ, and having added the signature of Albert on the plates, thus  namely, he produced the most faithful similitude of his subjects, insomuch that no one knew them to be done by Marc' Antonio; they were supposed to be by Albert Durer himself, as whose work they were accordingly bought and sold.

'When intelligence of this thing was written to Flanders, and one of the counterfeit plates was at the same time sent to Albert, he fell into a most violent rage, and leaving Flanders, he at once repaired to Venice. Here he had recourse to the Signoria, and made his complaint against Marc' Antonio, but could obtain nothing beyond the command that Marc' Antonio should no longer affix the name or signature aforesaid of Albert Durer. Marc' Antonio after this repaired to Rome.'*

The statement that Durer repaired to Venice to apply in person to the Signoria is unsupported by any other evidence. It is also certain that many of these plates

* This extract is from Bohn's edition, translated by Mrs. Jonathan Foster, 1851.

were done by Marc' Antonio after his going to Rome, and that the plates still exist, or did until lately, with the tablet and monogram of Durer still upon them, so that the correctness of the whole history is seriously impaired.

That Albert felt seriously aggrieved and his fortunes retarded we cannot doubt. He may have applied to the Signoria, and a prohibition of some kind may have been enforced. He had the right hand of the Emperor to defend his rights, and it reached far. The remarkable warning, afterwards printed at the end of his works, was doubtless the result:—

Heus tu, insidiator, ac alieni laboris et ingenii surreptor: ne manus temerarias his nostris operibus iniicias, cave! Scias enim a gloriosissimo Romanorum Imperatore Maximiliano nobis concessum esse: ne quis suppositiciis formis has imagines imprimere: seu impressas per imperii limites vendere audeat: quod si per contemptum, seu Avaricie crimen secus feceris: post bonorum confiscationem tibi maximum periculum subeundum esse, certissime scias.

We should have expected this denunciation and warning would prevent spurious imitations, circulating at least within the jurisdiction of the Emperor, but it does not appear to have done so. Besides the able and systematic republications of Marc' Antonio, all the inferior engravers

in Upper Germany endeavoured to benefit surreptitiously by the published works of Durer. In the Catalogue will be found all their imitations particularised, among the most extensive being those by the Hopfers. David Hopfer, probably the elder of the name, was especially an inventive and peculiar genius, but all of them, David (or Daniel, because it is uncertain which was his true name), Jerome, and Lambert, were coarse and sometimes even base in taste. They executed their works by etching, and were the earliest who dedicated themselves to this method *alone*, suggesting the possibility that they may have entered the region of art from the workshop of the casket maker and armourer: the ornamentation, by corroding the ground of the steel and leaving figures in smooth relief, being then in great demand, requiring workmen with a certain power of drawing and inventing ornament.

This copying of Durer may have been suspended for a time however: the dates on surreptitious prints being rare, we cannot say whether they were done immediately on the appearance of the originals. There is only one date, on D. Hopfer's works, 1527; on Jerome's several, 1520, 1521, 1523.

It is pleasant to find, that none of Durer's own pupils, and few of the men of great powers, now called *Little* Masters, lent themselves to this underhand trade, which continued after Durer's death. In Venice, a complete wood-

cut set of the thirty-six prints of the 'Fall and Redemption' were published. But no one until John Wierix, about 1560, attempted the perfect reproduction of the most elaborate of the copperplates. His facsimile of the exceedingly fine print of 'The Nativity' (B. 2), done at the age of sixteen, is astonishing, as indeed are all the others, by him and his brothers mentioned in our Catalogue. They amount to twenty-nine from the copperplates alone.*

Of all the works of Durer the most celebrated is the 'Knight with Death and the Devil.' It is, indeed, the most typical creation of the *romantic* phase of thought, the most thorough of all the inventions of the German mind in art, not belonging in any degree to the dilettante poetic art of later ages, or in any way a consciously sentimental production, but a direct outcome of its age and country. Nor is it wonderful that it should remain an enigma, and be now more and more obscure in its motive and meaning.

The tendency to emblematic didactic design then becoming fashionable south of the Alps, where the Renaissance was fully accomplished and not yet degenerated, actuated Durer to a very small extent. The 'Four Naked Women,' 1497, and the 'Dream,' supposed to have been done previous to 1506, exhibit a condition of this tendency, since they have a moral bearing. But they are more complete as poetic inventions, and infinitely more interest-

* See Cat. des Œuvres des trois Frères Wierix. Par Alvin.

ing as modern art than the semi-classic emblems current in Italy from the time of Giotto downwards. There is little doubt a moral was always present to Durer when employed on secular subjects, and that these two designs and the third also, belonging to his early time, the 'Lady and Gentleman Walking' with Death peeping from behind a tree, were all 'moralities.' There are very few exceptions to this rule in the long catalogue of his works, and those, as it happens, are his weakest productions. We speak of the 'Jealousy,' the 'Offer,' and the 'Woman and the Wildman,' this last considered his earliest trial with the graver.

There is, however, another class of designs by Albert, the object of which it is not easy to conjecture. We mean the prints representing fanciful armorial shields, the 'Shield with the Skull' and the 'Shield with the Cock.' These are amongst the most perfect of the master's productions, a fine and elaborate imitation of texture by the graver. And yet we are entirely at a loss to understand, why so great an artist, with an imagination so rich and inventive, should have expended so much charming manipulation on subjects apparently so unmeaning. I am inclined to suppose there may be more in these designs than we now see. Heraldry was then a science, and had much importance to all people; emblematic heraldry may have had an interest. At all events, one of these,

the 'Shield with the Skull,' suggests a symbolic meaning. We may describe the design in the words of Bartsch: 'On the left is a lady dressed in the German costume of the upper classes, held by a hairy savage, who seems on the point of kissing her, and who holds an escutcheon surmounted by a helmet with two wings; upon the shield appears a Death's head.' On this design M. Charles Blanc has made the following observations: 'Who can fail to read and understand the dread lesson it essays to teach? The most subtle and learned king-at-arms never emblazoned heraldic picture such as this. Here, upon honour's shield, is painted the sign that must hang over all our doors at last, the grim feature of Death. O! the painter is a moralist indeed. A bare, eyeless skull, supported by *civilisation* and *barbarism*, the crowned lady and the naked savage, is the picture here held up before the eyes of our pride. It is a lesson every one may take to heart, and the crest to this dread coat of arms is an empty helmet fantastically crowned with eagle's wings, emblematical of worldly honours and the worthlessness of pride. Well may the satyr leer in the lady's eyes, for the jewelled head no less than the beggar's must come one day to be a thing like that depicted on the shield.'

This, which we quote from a pamphlet by Mr. H. F. Holt, which goes much further in finding meanings in the two heraldic designs, is very well; but we must remember

that the savage was not an uncommon supporter, nor the pair of wings by any means an unknown crest, and that all helmets emblazoned on coats of arms were represented as empty helmets; nor can we follow the pamphlet, which not only finds in the design a commentary on St. Paul's declaration, 'the wages of sin is death,' but that the satyr represents the priesthood of the day, and that the other exquisite engraving, the shield of arms with a lion, and a cock for the crest, signifies or at least alludes to Peter's denial of Christ. By the 'armorial bearings of the cock,' says this writer, 'the disciples of the new faith are warned against infidelity, and encouraged to watchfulness and prayer.'

Leaving these confessedly less noble inventions, we shall speak of the 'Knight with Death and the Devil,' an invention the most perfect, and the most interesting problem presented by the art of the master.

This beautiful invention, which we need not describe, as every one who has seen it never forgets it, has no name except that of the characters represented. Vasari says, 'He produced an armed man on horseback as the symbol of Human Force;'* and in his further description tells us, 'this strong man had Death with his hour-glass beside him, and the Devil behind.' This mention, if we except Durer's

* This is the translation of Mr. Bohn's edition. The original Italian is 'Fece un uomo armato a cavallo per la fortezza umana'—which properly means 'human *fortitude*' (not 'force').

own 'Journal' (which in the meantime we must do, as some question exists regarding the designation of the subject there), is the earliest notice we have. Hans Hauer of Nurnberg, who died 1660, describes the print in his catalogue as 'a phantom cavalier (Gespenst Reuter) with a dog in a forest,' and makes allusion to a story then better known, the story of Philippe Rinck, a sergeant in the Nurnberg cavalry, who saw certain spectres or apparitions. Later commentators have been nearly unanimous in finding in this picture the Good Knight, the knight of the Reformation, the Christian knight, and Franz von Sickengen has been selected as the individual represented: 'Ni la mort, ni le diable, n'arrête un brave et loyal chevalier,' is the commentary of one of the latest critics.

Having honestly tried to get to the *motif* of this design, I came to the conclusion, that it represented the opposite of this, and that the knight and his companions are well together, he and Death, 'Arcades ambo;' but further reflection makes me less willing to advance my opinion, except as the conclusion of a single individual diffidently given. In the first place, making the good man thus accompanied by the powers of evil, is not characteristic of the art of that direct and simple time. It has an intellectual subtlety about it, and an epigrammatic taste of a later day. This objection appears to me most important and indeed decisive against the received interpretation. I

am afraid we English even think of Bunyan's Pilgrim when we assent so readily to the goodness of the armed rider.

But there are many other arguments, and first among these is the fact that there is no symptom of antagonism on the part of the knight to his companions; he is evidently unconscious of them. Moreover, the subject of Death interfering in human action was so common a pictorial *morality* of the day, that we have no right to put any modern interpretation on the work. If the face of the rider was a noble face, if it had anything of the saint or even of the loyal knight, we could there find an argument for the subtlety; but the expression is that of hardness, weathered by hardships; he is sworn to no self-sacrifice, although there remains something of sense of duty in its firm lines.

On the tablet which bears the monogram and date, in the corner of the print, is the letter S. This letter has been supposed the initial of the friend of Luther, Von Sickengen, without the Von or even V., which would be very uncommon. But Émile Galichon, in the 'Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1860,' has shown that the countenance of Sickengen preserved on medals bears no resemblance to that of the rider. In the set of large lithographs from pictures in the Munich Gallery, the fine picture by Durer (No. 1, Pin. Cat.), of a Cavalier standing by his Horse, is named Franz von Sickengen; and in that picture the

attitude of the horse, and the background, including the castle in the distance, are exactly the same as that in the 'Knight and Death.' This would have been a coincidence remarkable enough, if the faces in print and picture had at all corresponded to that of Durer's Knight; but they do not; and the fact is, this picture is one of the volets of an altarpiece, and represents one of the brothers Baumgärtner. The picture must have been in process of painting while the engraving was incubating; but the authentic portraits of Sickengen by Jerome Hopfer and others are unlike both picture and print.

This letter S, then, seems to promise a clue, and it does appear that a famous robber knight, named Sparnecker, was executed at Nurnberg about this time.* The privileged baron and knight of the previous century was now one of the nuisances of the country, and gradually became so great a plague by local wars and duels, levying tolls and other troubles, that the edict of the Diet of 1496 suppressing private wars struck at the rights of the fortified houses and the free knights. The letter S will remain most probably for ever undeciphered; but we cannot believe that the armed man we see in the 'Knight and Death' had anything to do with chivalry; nor would he stand in the

* This suggestion belongs to Mr. H. F. Holt, who strongly advocates the opinion, that the rider in the picture is the impersonation of the armed robber, and that the Devil is about to seize him.

mind of Durer, or in the popular apprehension of Germany, as the representative of Christian warfare.

Let us now see whether Durer's Journal contains any evidence on the subject. We quoted Vasari's definition of the invention, a symbol of Human Force, and among all the presents Durer makes to friends and others during his stay in the Netherlands, we find no mention of the 'Knight and Death' by that name; but we several times find him giving away as one of his best and most precious works, a print called 'a Nemesis.' It is true a small inferior print was so christened by Bartsch to fill up the gap, representing a figure with flaming eyes exactly like God in the Apocalypse design of the Seven Golden Candlesticks, sitting on a lion; a male figure by the way, as well as the 'Knight.' But this insignificant print can scarcely be the work indicated, and it is not reasonable to suppose his finest work left entirely out of his portfolio.

It may be said, neither is the 'Great Fortune' mentioned, which is another of the five most important works; and Passavant, Housman, and Waagen have all suggested the 'Nemesis' of the 'Journal' may be it. The Roman Nemesis, whose statue was in the Capitol, was certainly a female, a goddess with wings; but to suppose this figure with the bridle, the common adjunct of Temperance to be her is too arbitrary. The 'Great Fortune' print was one of Durer's latest works, and was perhaps done, or at least

finished after his return, although I do not affirm this, while the 'Knight and Death' bears its own date '1513.' The name of the infernal goddess is *now* used to signify retributive justice, vengeance in short, and it may have had that meaning in Durer's design.

The engravings mentioned in the 'Journal' (I leave the woodcut designs aside) are: 'Adam and Eve,' presented 3 times; 'Melancholy,' 8; 'S. Hubert' (Eustache), 5; the two 'S. Jeromes,' seated in his study and praying, 8; 'S. Veronica,' 1; 'S. Anthony,' 4; the 'Passion,' on copper, often; '*Nemesis*,' 4; and a '*Cavalier*,' 2. It will be immediately observed these are his best works, and that he gives them away in proportion to their excellence; the 'Melancholy' and 'S. Hubert' most frequently, as they are popular, one pious, the other allegorical. Then come the two 'S. Jeromes,' 'S. Anthony,' and '*Nemesis*,' all in equal number. 'Of the Adam and Eve,' being one of his earliest works, he may not have had many copies; but 'a Cavalier,' which has been pointed to as the 'Knight and Death,' but is no doubt the 'Great White Horse,' occurs but twice. Had the 'Cavalier' been the 'Knight' he would have bestowed it more frequently. The little print representing Divine Justice, Vengeance, or what not, is too insignificant to be presented at all.

So much difficulty having been made of this wonderful invention, let me ask the reader to try to unprejudice his mind, and consider the subject from Durer's point of view.

The prosperous free towns of Franconia had no association with armed men and warhorses, but those of citizens with the enemies of wealth and their rights. They had bought off the lord who held an armed court within the city. When the Emperor went to war they had to furnish a contingent, and Pirkheimer had been appointed to the command of the Nurnberg corps, in which the two brothers Baumgärtner served, for whose safe return their parents were so grateful that they had a votive picture painted by Durer on the occasion. Durer's other designs in which soldiers appear, the 'Six Captains,' the 'White Horses,' great and small, 'Death and the Soldier' woodcut, &c. do not show that Durer viewed the personality of war from a romantic point of view; and his engineering studies go to prove that cannon and fortification were the means of offence and defence most interesting to him, and they are the means of making armour and the sword-hand of the least possible value. At that time the bands of men hiring themselves to fight on either side still existed, and were held in detestation.

The design itself represents an old war-worn soldier firm in his saddle, fully armed, on a strong old charger. He bears a long lance such as horsemen then carried, as represented in 'Der weiss Kunig,' by Burgmair,* and else-

* The thing wrapped about the top of the lance, which has been considered a foul beast the knight has speared, by Motte Fouqué and others, is nothing but a usual appendage to the weapon; possibly for cleaning

where. He is unconscious of his supernatural surroundings, or is so accustomed to such society, he takes no note of it, pursuing his journey up a hollow way concealed by rocks, the dry bed of a stream it may be, or swept by rains, as the pebbles heaped together here and there indicate. He is followed by an old dog, the engraving of whose hair is a subject of eulogy to Vasari. Then comes the interpretation! Is an evil errand his, and is it his last? Death rides beside him on a little horse, with a bell round its neck like an ecclesiastic bearing the sacrament, only he bears an hour-glass with a dial on the top, which he seems to show the unregarding old man of war, and the Devil follows close behind, the pig-faced devil Durer has elsewhere shown us. He too has been to the wars as he bears a kind of glaive, or he is going to assist the rider, whom he looks at with a sharp satisfaction, and to whom he extends his arm as if to keep hold of him.

The print usually called the 'Great Fortune' ('Das grosse Glück') has been mentioned, and has been introduced into this vexed question, by having been actually supposed by some critics to be the 'Nemesis' of the 'Journal.' Vasari is the first to describe this print, which he does in these words: 'Albert on his part would not suffer

it. See plates 60, 77, of 'Der weiss Kunig.' It is on the lance of the man in armour, the sketch now at Vienna, evidently a study for this figure by Durer.

himself to be surpassed by Lucas (of Leyden), whether in the number or excellence of his works; he therefore engraved a nude figure amidst the clouds, a 'Temperance,' having wings of singular beauty and holding a cup of gold and a bridle in her hands; beneath is a fine landscape.' The bridle is the usual adjunct of the emblem of Temperance. But Durer may have had an additional meaning in this design. The figure is far removed from the perfect or most lovely female form, such as he could draw and did when he had occasion, as in the Eve, in his exquisite engraving, or the Magdalene in the woodcut of her vision, done near his end. Many of the chalk drawings show a singular sense of beauty, but here we lack that, and her face is evidently a portrait. Mr. Holt suggests that it is that of the Lady Marguerite, with whom Durer was dissatisfied at the end of his visit to the Low Countries; who however might have been a dangerous enemy. More likely that of Agnes; it represents at all events a woman who has a smile, and an unlovely character though handsome. Besides the bridle she carries a cup of carved gold, not properly belonging to Temperance, but rather expressing worldly well-being allied to wealth and indulgence. The Woman in the Apocalypse (second print from the end of the series) riding on the Seven-headed Beast, bears a similar cup. We may remark, however, that it is a cup with a cover, a closed cup.

The landscape below, which surpasses all others ever

done in romantic truth as in minuteness of detail, has been said to represent the village of Eytas, the cradle of the Durer family.*

The only other invention it may be necessary to particularise, as having been considered a puzzle to the critic, is that of 'Melancholy.' She leans her head on her hand, and looks far away dreamily and sadly. In attitude and expression she may recall the Penseroso of Milton; she is surrounded by the implements of crafts and the utensils of science. Why are all these, and why the sleepy Cupid trying to write? Why so many other objects on the wall above? The difficulty in answering definitively and explaining the exact shade of Durer's intention in thus accumulating such a mass of surroundings, has placed the design among problems. The inscription 'Melencholia I,' which, as has been remarked, is simply the number *one* following the name, seeming to show that Durer meant to prosecute a series of emblems thus inaugurated, has been supposed to be the imperative of the Latin verb *eo*, and made to mean, 'Melancholy, begone!' Thus the intention of the design would be at once reversed; others again have ignored the name altogether, and found the emblem to be Truth, Intellectual Industry, and so on.†

* There is a very excellent little print by Durer's pupil, Aldegrever, dated 1555, one of the rarer works of that 'Little Master,' which has been also called the 'Great Fortune,' from its having been derived from Durer's print. The figure, however, is beautiful in form, and holds in her left hand a dead serpent. The cup and bridle are in the other hand.

† The beautiful small print by Hans Sebald Beham, dated 1539, one of

'Vanity of vanities, all is vanity, saith the preacher.' Such is the text of Durer's design. The plane, the hammer, and the saw; the compasses, the crucible, and the cube; mechanics and sciences, what do they profit the soul? The hourglass hangs upon the wall, with sand wearing down; the scales also evenly hang, and the magic quadrant of numerals of Cornelius Agrippa and other mystics, which added in any direction gives the same result, is also there; for whatever one does, the same result follows; death levels the labour down; 'the same thing happeneth to all men under the sun.' The bell is here also ready to sound alike for birth, marriage, or death; and may we not interpret the comet and the rainbow as bearing on the same result of negation,—the one a portent of fear, the other an assurance of safety? May we not also attribute a meaning to the ladder which rises from some solid ground we see not, and ascends beyond the sphere of the picture? Genius works instinctively, and meanings are enclosed by it that never consciously appeared to the artist.

Descriptions of all these designs, and especially of the last mentioned, are very numerous and curious, as showing how diverse are the interpretations of such things by men who want sympathy. To quote them would lead to too

the 'Little Masters,' representing the same subject, and evidently borrowed from Durer, has nearly all the same adjuncts lying about the figure. She, however, sleeps, which is not so expressive. In a corner on a label is the name 'Melencholia,' spelt thus as in Durer's print, but here we have no letter I.

great length. Where so many objects are massed together, 'the rubbish he has thrown about her,' as Fuseli says (himself a vacuous designer depending, like Ossian's poems, on 'the force of style),' there will be much misunderstanding. But we must consider the old German method of thought, the realism in small things, the pleasure in mere exact portraiture, which introduced curious matter however irrelevant, as a fly on a lady's veil in a portrait; and also the utter absence of the conventional, the academic, or the quasi-classic. We must remember, moreover, that chiaroscuro scarcely existed as an artistic motive; had it done so, perhaps Durer would have ignored it as he ignored the antique; he who never made a sketch from an ancient sculpture, nor introduced a morsel of acanthus into his ornament. So, while there is no easy mystification by shadow, and many objects selected for the pleasure of imitation, there are features in all works of the time that puzzle the modern eye. Melancholy, for example, has a bunch of keys like a good *Hausfrau*, and a couple of purses hanging by her side; she is fully clothed yet she has wings, and her head is bound by a wreath of spleenwort, perhaps for no other reason than the beauty and the smallness of the foliage.* Who can say whether

* Has this plant, which the Germans call milzkraut, any occult use or significance? I find it on Gabriel's head in Schön's 'Annunciation,' and also on his S. Agnes and on the Wise Virgins. In a small print by a rare German monogramist, H. L. (B. viii. 35, 1) a figure of Christ wears a wreath of this plant.

the large lizard in the 'Knight and Death' has a bearing on the subject? May it not be there only because he wished to enrich his picture?

In Italian art there are also riddles still to be read, such as Michael Angelo's 'Dream;' but in these we see none but the legitimate allegorical elements; there are no distractions, no realisms. To this rule, showing a wide national difference, there is, however, one exception, and a notable one—the multifarious composition designed by Raphael, and engraved by George Ghisi of Mantua, called also a 'Dream.' After mature consideration, I can only conjecture that the greatest of modern painters, delighted as we know him to have been with Durer's works, and conversant as he was with them through his unscrupulous friend, Marc' Antonio, had set to work to outdo him in richness of invention, and to leave him behind in variety and curiousness of the objects introduced. In another enigmatic design by Raphael, engraved by Marc' Antonio (B. 359) wherein sleeping women lie by a stream and Tartarus flames in the distance, there is also a German influence apparent.

In conclusion, the reader may rest assured that the work of imagination, which can be exhaustively understood, is not the greatest work; and let us rejoice that, twenty generations hence, there will still be some unexplained wonders, such as the Apocalypse of S. John, and the illustrations to the same by Albert Durer, and also his design of the 'Knight with Death and the Devil.'

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# Chapter VII.

*WORK FOR THE EMPEROR.—ETCHINGS.—DURER VISITS AUGSBURG 1518.—DEATH OF MAXIMILIAN.—DURER STARTS FOR THE LOW COUNTRIES.*

THE consideration of these, the engraved works of the master, brings us down to the later period of Durer's life. Like the majority of indefatigable men, he was of a restless temperament, ready to take up new things. His office of painter to the Emperor does not appear to have led so much to the usual amount of portrait painting as to the practice of drawing on wood, illustrating the reign by engraved and published works. Maximilian must have had some considerable enthusiasm for the new art of engraving, as the great undertakings ordered by him, and already mentioned, were in that walk. The 'Teuerdank,' illustrated by Hans Schauflein, was rather an offering to the Emperor; but the 'Triumphs,' by Hans Burgkmair, and the 'Triumphal Arch' were his own ideas. This last must have occupied Durer much time, and furnished work for many *formschneiders*. These, with the 'Weiss Kunig' and other works, must have supported and improved Nurnberg as a school of wood engraving. The 'Ehren Pforte des Kaiser Max' is an impossible

structure, with portraits of all the ancestors of the Emperor, and many other matters, in ninety-two large blocks which need never be put together. These were designed about 1515 and 1516, but not finished for many years; and the Triumphal Car, 'Der Triumph Wagen des Kaiser Max,' was drawn at a later time. Imagine this immense engraved façade erected, the triumphal car placed so as to enter it, and the one hundred and twenty sheets of procession by Burgkmair in a long line advancing. There is a barbaric magnificence in the scheme; it is such a work as could only be inspired by the undefined capabilities of a new art.

The portrait of Maximilian on wood is also of the same magnitude. It is the head with a bonnet on, and the shoulders only, but they are very near the size of life. Other prints he did, also commemorating the Kaiser, of inferior moment.

In 1515 and 1518 Durer visited the court at Augsburg, and there painted in the palace. The sketches in chalk of the illustrious people he met, and of others also, still exist; many of them no doubt drawings for portraits, as the ordinary German plan of that day was to make a correct drawing only from the life. Here too he made those freehand borders to surround the ample pages of the Emperor's prayerbook (though probably at the earlier date) now in the Royal Library at Munich. They are pen and

ink, and now are somewhat faded, but decipherable in all their variety and fancy.

At this period the art of etching appears to have come before Durer; the dates on the specimens by his hand are 1515, 1516, and 1518. It is a pity there are only three dated out of the nine plates he etched; had they all been dated, we might have found that he was entitled to the honour of having first used corrosion by acid to assist, or to supersede, the graver, as Sandrart asserts he did. Other claimants of course there are. Zani attributes it to Parmigiano, but we can't at all tell how much Parmigiano really engraved himself. He certainly employed other engravers, and is not the less likely on this account to have fallen on a new method likely to facilitate the production of prints. But the invention has been generally made over to Lucas of Leyden; and it may have come in the natural course of things from the armourers and others practising it, the makers of Nurnberg caskets more particularly, so that, properly speaking, invention there was none.

Of Durer's nine plates, Bartsch says some were iron and some pewter; on which Ottley remarks, 'I am unable to conjecture on what authority.' It appears, however, that one of these plates still exists in a disabled state, and that it is iron.

These etchings cannot be said to be Durer's best works; they have been rather tentative, than anything else, at least

the majority. The slight sketch of one of the best, 'Christ's Agony in the Garden,' at Vienna, is much finer than the etching. And even the best of them, 'The Cannon' for example, wants that command over the biting-in process which enables the artist to give the exact light and shade he wants. It had not yet occurred to Durer to keep the corrosive acid longer on one portion of the design than on another, so as to get variety of strength in the line. Besides, the corrosion of sharp lines on iron or steel needs much practice and good chemicals; the ornamentation of the small iron caskets by Nurnberg smiths, and of breast-plates and helmets, was not deep but shallow. In using the acid on steel without agitating it while the action is going on, there is apt to take place a deposition of the disengaged carbon, which obstructs the further deepening of the line. And this result appears evident in Durer's etchings: they have a faint grey character instead of the sharp spirited incision we recognise in his engravings. Afterwards copper was universally used, and the action of nitrous acid on that metal is not subject to the same difficulty; and as copper was the metal Durer used for engraving, we may conclude that his use of iron was simply the imitation of the craftsmen whose previous practice we have mentioned.

On some of these iron plates Durer has fallen back, not upon the graver which perhaps he broke in the attempt, but on the etching point on the bare plate without corro-

sion at all: 'dry point,' as it is called, merely scratching and scribbling; and this printed gives a black and grey smudge admirable for light and shadow. It was thus Rembrandt enriched the art, and Durer certainly was the perceptive genius showing the way.

In 1519, on January 17, died the Emperor Maximilian, one of the notables of modern European history, and the friend of Durer. The supreme control devolved on the Elector Frederick of Saxony till a successor was appointed, and the seven forming the electoral college offered him the purple in permanence. In this case Lucas Cranach would have held the post Durer had hitherto enjoyed with the salary of 100 guldens. Frederick, however, declined the difficult work; and ultimately Charles V., the grandson of the late Emperor, a youth of nineteen, was chosen. Durer seems to have thought it his duty to make an effort to be attached to the court of the new Cæsar; or rather, perhaps, we may say, he made this object his determining reason for undertaking a journey to the Low Countries, not without a view to the exercise of his portrait art and the furtherance of his trade in prints.

The Lady Marguerite was at Antwerp, daughter to his former patron and aunt to the new ruler. Thither Durer set out, leaving Nurnberg so as to be present at the reception in Antwerp and Cologne, which however was delayed considerably by Charles being unable to leave the Cortes.

The journal he kept during this period of nearly two years' absence from home, was made public at the end of last century. It is a kind of day-book recording small expenses as well as great, small incidents often to the omission of greater. It also mentions all the notable artists and others he meets, and curious things he saw.

### *Albert Durer's Journal,*

WRITTEN DURING HIS VISIT TO THE LOW COUNTRIES, 1520, 1521.

(*Age of Durer* 49.)

'At my own costs and charges, I left Nurnberg for the Low Countries, on Thursday after S. Kilian,* my wife being with me.† The same day we passed by Erlangen, and lodged at Baiersdorf, which cost me three stivers less six deniers. From thence we went by the shortest route to Forchheim, where, on arriving (Friday), I paid twenty-two deniers for a safe-conduct. I went on to Bamberg, where I offered to the Bishop ‡ a picture of the Virgin, the "Life of the Virgin," an "Apocalypse," and other engravings of the value of a florin.

'He made me leave the inn where I had already spent nearly a florin, and invited me to be with him, when he

* Jour de S. Kilian, July 12.

† Sandrart, (p. 225, *Academia Teutsche*, 1675) and writers who follow him, have said Durer did not take his wife Agnes. Since that writer's time this journal has been made public.

‡ George III. d. 1522. Known to Durer, who painted his portrait.

gave me a pass for the Douane, and three letters of recommendation. I then arranged with the driver of a voiture to take me on to Frankfort for six florins of gold.* Master Nicholas Lanx, Benedict, and Hans the painter,† offered me the stirrup cup; I drank and went my way.

'I gave four stivers for bread and thirteen for drink-money. I went rapidly from Bamberg to Eltman, thence to Zeil; spent twenty-one stivers, arrived at Hasfurth, showed my pass at the Douane, and was allowed to go.

'I spent a florin in the chancery of the Bishop of Bamberg. At Theres, in the convent, I exhibited my papers, and continued my route. We arrived at last on the edge of the Rhine, where we passed the night for a

* It would be most interesting could we understand the value of the coins and sums of money mentioned throughout this journal, compared to the prices and values now current. To do this with precision is impossible; but perhaps, if we estimated the exchange of commodities for money at twelve times what it is now, we come somewhat near the average. In Nurnberg the value of money would be greater than in the Low Countries.

The coins mentioned in the journal, or generally current, were

Crona, or crown, worth a number of gold florins (10?).
Angel, or angelot, worth 2 fl. 2 st.
Florin of gold (gulden), worth 8 francs; 60 of our money to-day.
„ de Philippe, worth 1 gulden 18 stivers.
„ du Rhin, about the same.
Albus, weisse pfennig, silver penny, worth about 9 pence.
Stüber, stiver, pfennig, penny: value uncertain.
Heller, very small coin (24th of a stiver), denier?

† Hans Wolfang Katzheimer, probably, who lived at Bamberg, 1492–1527.

stiver; thence we went to Maynberg. At Sweinfurth I was invited by Dr. George Rebart, who gave me wine, which I placed in our boat. They exempted me from the charges at the Douane. (I have expended ten stivers for a roasted pullet and eighteen to the cook and his boy.) Next we reach Volkach, and go on to Zwartzach, where we pass the night at a cost of twenty-two stivers.

'*Monday.*—We rise early to get forward to Tettelbach. At Kitzing we spend twenty-seven stivers. Going by Seilzfeldt we reach Markbreit, where they allow me to pass on showing my papers. Then by Frickenhaussen and Ochsenfurth we arrive at Eivel-stadt and Murzburg, and at last Erla-Brunn, where we pay twenty-two stivers for a bed.

'Next morning we passed by Retzbach and Zelling, and gained Karlstadt and Gemund. We dined there tolerably for twenty-two stivers. We saw successively Holstettin, Lohr, and Nevenstadt, where I had to show my pass. (Spent ten stivers for wine and crayfish.)

'*Wednesday Morning.*—After leaving behind us Rotenfels we came to Saint Ecarig, thence to Heudenfeldt, Triffelstein, Homburg, Wertheim; then on again by Brodselten, to Feudenberg, Miltenberg, Klingenberg, Worth, Obernberg, Asschaffenberg, Selgenstadt, and Steinheim, having often to show my papers. We passed the night close to Johansen, and in the morning they opened the town gates

for us, and we had many kindnesses. (I spent there six albuses.)

'*Friday.*—We go to Kesselstadt to reach Frankfort from thence, and at that city I show my pass at the Douane. Our bed costs six stivers, and I give besides two to the waiter. Jacob Heller entertains me with wine at the inn, and I make an agreement with a man to conduct me from Frankfort to Mayence for one florin two stivers. At night we spend eight stivers.

'*Sunday.*—I take the boat in the morning to go to Mayence. Half-way, that is to say, at Hochst, I show my papers and they let me pass. I spend eight Frankfort deniers, and on to Mayence: an albus is spent discharging my effects, eighteen stivers being paid for straps. I here make an agreement with the captain of a boat of Cologne, to carry us there with my baggage for three florins. (I have spent seventeen albuses at Mayence.) Peeter, the assayer of the guild of goldsmiths, made me a gift of two bottles of wine. Veith Farnpühler invited me to his house, but the host at my inn considered me his guest, and would not receive my money. Indeed they treated me with honour. I left Mayence, this place where the Mayne throws itself into the Rhine, on S. Margaret's day,* bread and eggs taken into the boat with us costing nineteen hellers. Leonhard the goldsmith pre-

* July 20, 1520.

sented me with wine and game; he gave me also charcoal to serve us in cooking on board. The brother of Joostes also offered me a bottle of wine, and the Corporation of Painters two.

'After passing before Erfeld and Rüdisheim, we reach Erenfels. I show my pass, but they exact two golden florins of me, promising however to return the same, if, within two months, I can show a letter of exemption; and on arriving at Bacharach I have to engage, within two months, either to pay the dues, or to produce my letter of exemption.

'At Caub they allowed me to pass on the same conditions. Again, at Saint Goar, the collector required to know where I had paid the dues: I contented myself with telling him I had no money to give him.

'At Bopart, the douane of Treves allowed me to pass on my showing the paper, in which I declare and sign that I have no kind of merchandise with me. From thence we reach Lahnstein, where I show my papers, and the collector not only allows me to pass, but prays me to recommend him to the Seigneur of Mayence, and presented me with a bottle of wine. He knew my wife well, and he has desired to see me for a long time.

'At Engers, my letter carried me through; the place belongs to the duchy of Treves.

'At Andernach I spend nine hellers, and we quit this town for Bonn on S. James's day. Thence to Cologne.

(We have spent nine stivers on the boat: one stiver four deniers for fruit and charcoal, seven stivers for discharging on arrival, and forty hellers for the servants on board.) I made a gift to my cousin Nicholas* of my upper coat lined and bordered with velvet, and I gave his wife a florin. Jerome Fugger, Jan Ghrosserpeck, and my cousin entertained me with wine. I dined at the convent of the Chartreux, where a brother offered me a piece of cloth. Herr Jan Ghrosserpeck made me a gift of twelve measures of wine. I spend, however, in Cologne, two florins forty stivers, besides three stivers for fruit, one for drink-money, and one for a messenger.

'On S. Pantaleon's day we left Cologne for Postorff, where we pass the night at a cost of three stivers. Sunday, we dine at Rödingen. Next day early we started from Freendorf for the little town of Gangelt, dining in a village called Systerhyln for two stivers two hellers. We pass Sittard, a pretty little town, and get to Starkem, a charming place, at which we descend at an excellent inn. We eat very well, and have a fine bed, but the bill does not rise to more than four stivers.

'Friday morning: we pass the Meuse, and enter Marten, Lewbehrn (?): I gave a stiver for a chicken. We went on to Stosser. Wednesday, we were at Merpeck,

* 'Le fils du sellier, l'élève du père d'Albert Durer.' Narrey, p. lxxxiv. This cousin is mentioned in the 'Family Relation' as called in Cologne 'Nicholas of Hungary.'

where I bought bread and wine for three stivers. Passing by Brantenmühl and Culenberg we had, on Tuesday morning, at La Croix, an excellent repast for three stivers two deniers.

'We take the road to Antwerp, and immediately on arriving go to the inn kept by Jobst Plankfelt: the same evening, factor Bernard Stecher gave me a splendid supper; my wife remained at the inn. I gave three florins to the carriage driver, for our expenses on arriving.'

## Chapter VIII.

*JOURNAL.—DURER AT ANTWERP.—EXCURSION TO BRUSSELS.—ATTENDS CHARLES V. AT COLOGNE.—RECEIVES THE APPOINTMENT.*

'I BEGIN my stay at Antwerp, and my host took me to the burgomaster.* His house is of great size and well arranged; the apartments very large and truly beautiful. It is flanked by a tower beautifully wrought, and surrounded by immense gardens; in short, it is the dwelling for a prince. I have not seen its equal in all Germany. A great street, all new, gives access on two sides to this house, which the burgomaster has built to please himself.

'On Sunday, the day of S. Oswald, the painters have invited me into their guildhall, with my wife and her maid. We eat an excellent dinner on an entire service of silver. All the wives of the painters were there, and, when they conducted me to my place at the feast, the

* The burgomaster of Antwerp, then called by the Germans Antorf, at least so called by Durer in his 'Journal,' was the Chevalier Arnold de Lière, who died in office in 1529. His house, still existing in the Rue des Princes as a military hospital, is sometimes called the Maison Anglaise. Charles V. resided in it.

entire assembly, standing up, made a lane for me as if they entertained a great lord. There were at the banquet people of consideration in Antwerp who bowed to me, and made me many compliments, saying they all wished to do what might be agreeable to me. After I was seated, the messenger of the council of the city approached me with two liverymen, and made me accept four measures of wine, saying that he did so on the part of the gentlemen to show me honour, and as a sign of esteem. I prayed him to express to the gentlemen my thanks, and I offered him my very humble services.

'After him came Master Peeter,'* who presented to me two other measures of wine, with his respects. We passed a long time at table with very great pleasure, indeed a part of the night, and then they conducted me home with flambeaux, and made a thousand demonstrations of friendship. I thanked them with fervour, and betook myself to bed.

'I am going to see Quentin Matsys† in his own house.‡

* Master Peeter held the appointment of carpenter to the city.

† Quentin Matsys was born at Louvain, about 1466; he was consequently about fifty-four years of age. It has been represented that he was much older, and that he died at the age of eighty-four in the year 1530; but we learn from M. Narrey's note to this sentence, that M. Edward van Eden, an antiquarian of Louvain, had discovered a paper which settled the date of his birth very nearly.

‡ His first house was in Huidevetters Straet (Tanners' Street), Section 3, No. 1037. His second house, in which he died, was in Garden Street, in Schutters-hof Street, possibly near one of the 'great shooting-grounds' Durer mentions as visited by him. Van Fornenberg says this house was

I have visited the three grand shooting-grounds.* I made an excellent dinner with Haber, and another with the Consul of Portugal whose portrait I drew. I also drew the portrait of my host of the inn, Jobst Plankfelt, who offered me a branch of coral. (I gave two sous for beer money, and the same sum to the carpenters of the painters.) My host conducted me to an atelier, where the painters, pensioners of the city, were working on arches of triumph, to be raised on the line of progress of the Emperor Charles V. There are not less than four hundred, each one forty feet long; they are to be ranged on either side of the street, all well painted, with two stages on which allegorical representations are to be given. The wood-work and decoration cost together 400 florins. The effect will be splendid.

'I dined again with the Consul of Portugal, and with Alexander.†

'Sebald Vischer bought of me 16 little designs of the "Passion" for four florins; 32 of the large book for eight

known by a figure of S. Quentin in iron by the master himself. This was in 1658; but there is no other record of the fact, the figure being now gone.

* These were places for the practice of the crossbow, two of them were where the corn market and new theatre now stand. They were important establishments, and three of them were rebuilt or improved by Gillibert van Schoonbeke in 1552.

† Goldsmith and amateur of Nurnberg, then a youth of nineteen, if we can depend on the assumed date of his birth, 1501. He was received into the guild of S. Luke 1516, and died 1546.

florins; 6 of the engravings of the "Passion" for three florins; 20 half leaves of different subjects, one with another, worth a florin; he took them for three florins. I sold also quarter leaves for five and a half florins, and 8 large leaves for a florin.*

'I made over to my host a figure of the Virgin painted on cloth; he has sold it on my account for two florins of the Rhine.

'I did the portrait of Felix, the lute-player.† I spent two stivers for beer and bread, two for a bath, and fourteen for three small panels.

'I dined with Alexander the goldsmith, and also with Felix. Master Joachim ‡ has dined with me here. Also his servant. I have done for the painters a shield in half-tint, and accepted a florin for my expenses. I gave my four new pieces to Peter Wolfgang, and to Joachim designs of the value of a florin, because he had lent me

* The first item is most likely part of the 'Little Passion' on wood; the second, the 'Greater Passion;' the third, the 'Little Passion' on copper, as he particularises them as 'engravings.' From the sizes, 'half leaves' and 'quarter leaves' being mentioned, it appears he classified his prints as we still do books, as 4to, 8vo, &c.; the two last mentioned sales, and the prices attached to these seem impossible of reconcilement with the rest.

† Felix Hungersberg, a celebrated musician, and 'captain of the empire,' whatever that may mean.

‡ Joachim Patinier, or De Patiner; born at Dinant; his age at this time uncertain. He was celebrated for his pictures of landscape and for his debauched habits. He had a singular mark on his pictures—a little figure of a man squatting in a certain position. Whether any of his pictures still exist I do not know.

his domestic and his colours ; besides, I had retained his young man to dinner, and given him designs worth three stivers. I have sent my four new pieces to Alexander the goldsmith. I have made in charcoal the portraits of the Genoese Tommaso Florianus, of Romanus of Lucca, and of Tommaso's two brothers, Vincenzo and Gerardo. These three brothers are of the family of Pombelli. I have dined twelve times with Tommaso.

'The treasurer gave me the head of a child painted on cloth and a wooden shield, and one, too, of the rare light wood from Calcutta.* Tommaso also made me a friendly gift of a plaited hat of elder-pith. I dine with the Consul of Portugal, and one of the brothers of Tommaso made me accept engravings worth three guldens.

'Erasmus† offered me a Spanish mantle and three drawings—portraits of men. I received from the brother of Tommaso a pair of gloves, and I made a second portrait of Vincenzo. I gave to Master Augustine Lumbarth‡ the two parts of the celestial map (Imagines Cœli) ;§ also I painted the portrait of the Italian Opitius with the crooked nose. Also my wife and her maid Susanna have dined with Tommaso in his house ; that is, four times.

* ('Ein Catacutisch hülzern Wehr.') I follow Narrey in translating this of or from Calcutta. The same word occurs frequently afterwards.

† Desiderius Erasmus, whose portrait Durer afterwards engraved. We shall see how the painter apostrophises him in regard to the Reformation. He was born at Rotterdam, 1467, and died at Basle in July 1536.

‡ Perhaps the brother of Lombardus the painter. § Bartsch, 151, 152.

'Notre Dame of Antwerp is a very grand church. In it they can say many masses at once without confusion. The altars have very wealthy foundations. The best musicians are attached to it. The church possesses many remarkable sculptures and ornaments, and a lovely tower. I have visited the rich abbey of S. Michael, of which the choir is garnished with fauteuils carved in stone. Here in Antwerp there is plenty of money, so they don't allow cost to interfere with art.

'I have made the portrait of Nicholas, the astronomer of the King of England.* He is a German born at Munich, and has made himself useful to me on divers occasions. Also the portrait of Tommaso's daughter Suten.

'Hans Pfaffroth has given me a florin of Philippe for his portrait in charcoal. I have dined again with Tommaso. The brother-in-law of my host has invited my wife and me. (Two bad florins I have exchanged away for twenty-four stivers; also gave a stiver for drink-money to a man who showed me the picture.) The Sunday after Assumption: I have seen the grand procession of Notre Dame; it is an enchanting spectacle. All the corporate bodies and all the trades are present sumptuously apparelled. Each profession and guild had its peculiar attributes; many persons carried enormous wax-candles and long trumpets of

* Nicholas Kratzer, chemist and astronomer, at Oxford, 1517. Holbein painted his portrait in 1528.

massive silver. Then there went a great number of players on the flute and the drum dressed in the German style, who made a tremendous noise with their instruments: these were to be seen in separate bands about the streets. This was the order in which the trades went: goldsmiths, painters,* builders, silk-embroiderers, sculptors, joiners, carpenters, sailors, fishermen, masons, tanners, cloth-workers, bakers, tailors, shoemakers, and many others. There were also a multitude of shopkeepers and merchants with their clerks and assistants. After those came the shooters with their weapons, guns, bows, and arbalasts; then cavaliers and mummers, the guards of the functionaries, and, at last, a mighty and beautiful throng of different orders and nations superbly costumed in special fashions. I remarked in this procession a troop of widows who lived by their labour; and, according to cloistral rule, they were clad from the head to the ground in long white cloth; it was most curious: among those women were very distinguished figures. I remarked also the chapter of Notre Dame, with a ruck of priests, with scholars and bursars bringing up the rear. Twenty persons carried the images of the Virgin and the infant Jesus splendidly ornamented.

'For this procession had been constructed, at great cost,

* It is worthy of remark that the goldsmiths take the lead: the goldsmith was the man of science as well as the artist towards the end of the middle ages. This procession, witnessed by Durer, has furnished Baron Henri Leys with a subject for a great picture.

many remarkable objects: chariots and moving ships on which they represented scenes of all kinds; among others the following allegories—the Order of Prophets, the Salutation of the Angel, the Magi on camels, and other rare animals curiously caparisoned; the Flight into Egypt, and many other subjects I pass over for brevity. One I must mention, a great dragon held in leash by S. Margaret and her Virgins, who were very pretty; also S. George, a very handsome fellow with pages, and a crowd of youths and young women representing saints, male and female, by different fashions of dress.

'This procession took two hours to pass before our house, and presented many more particulars than I can relate here.

'I have been in the new Antwerp house that Focker (Fugger)* has had constructed. It is very costly in arrangements, with a fair tower and beautiful and wide gardens. Above all I admired the magnificent stables.

'Tommaso has given my wife fourteen yards of good thick satin damask for her robe, and two yards and a half of satin to line it with. I have made, at the order of the goldsmiths, a sketch for a crown to the Virgin. The Consul of Portugal has regaled me in his hotel† with the

* This house exists still in the Rampart des Tailleurs de Pierre, but much dismantled. The Fuggers of Augsburg were the richest bankers and merchants of Europe; the Antwerp branch of the family was established in 1055.

† The city appears to have presented the house, W. 2, No. 1668, in

wines of France and of his own country; and Roderigo * has given me a little cask of sweets of various sorts: among them I found a box of sugar-candy and two dishes of refined sugar; also marchpanes (*marzipahe*) and other confections, and some sugar canes as they grow. I have given his domestic a florin. *Item:* I have exchanged a bad gulden for twelve stivers.

'The columns of the parish church of S. Michael are all made of a single stone each, of a black colour.

'I have given to Herr Gillgen, doorkeeper to King Charles, and to Master Conrad, † a good sculptor in the service of Marguerite, the daughter of Kaiser Max, the following:

'"S. Jerome in Prayer," ‡ the "Melancholy," § the three new "Maries," "S. Anthony," ‖ the holy "Veronica:" ¶

Kipdorp, to the consulate of Portugal in 1511. This hotel was made into a caserne of pompiers in 1817.

* This Roderigo Fernandes succeeded to the consulate in 1528. The foreigners in Antwerp, including Erasmus and Kratzer, appear to have cultivated the painter very much.

† Conrad Meyt; born at Malines; received into the guild of S. Luke, in 1536.

‡ Is this the etching, B. 59, or the engraving B? most probably the latter.

§ This wonderful engraving is mentioned more frequently than any other in the journal, as having been presented to strangers by Durer. It occurs six times.

‖ Bartsch, 58.

¶ Probably the small print now so very rare. As it is done with great delicacy, and in a manner that would not stand many impressions, it may have been much prized from the first.

and afterwards, to Gilgen, a "S. Eustache"* and a "Nemesis." †

'(*Item:* Sunday before S. Bartholomew: I owe to my host, seven florins twenty stivers one heller.)

'(*Item:* my salon, chamber, and bed accommodation (*Bettgewandt*) cost me eleven florins a month.)

'The 27th of August, the Monday of S. Bartholomew, I make a new contract, by which I pay two stivers for a repast including drink: my wife and her maid may cook in the kitchen and eat in the chamber. I have given to the Consul of Portugal a little carving of a child's head. Also I have given him an "Adam and Eve," "S. Jerome in Prayer," "Hercules," "S. Eustache," "Melancholy," and "Nemesis." Afterwards, on half-sheets, three new figures of the "Virgin," "Veronica," "S. Anthony," the "Nativity" and the "Crucifix" (*das Creutz*).‡ Afterwards my best designs on four leaves, that is, eight pieces. Afterwards the three books, "Life of the Virgin," the "Apocalypse," and the "Great Passion;" also the "Little Passion," and the "Passion" on copper; all that is worth five florins.§

* B. 57; also called S. Hubert, one of the finest works of the master.

† It has been suggested (without any reason however), that Durer thus designates the little print, B. 79, or that now called the 'Great Fortune,' but much more probably he means 'The Knight of Death.'

‡ Probably the small circular crucifixion, said to have been engraved on the pommel of the Emperor's sword.

§ Here we have an invaluable hint as to the value of the master's works at the time of their appearance. All this collection of his finest works,

I made the same gift to the other Portuguese, Roderigo, who has given to my wife a small green parroquet.

'Sunday after S. Bartholomew (Sept. 2): I leave Antwerp with Tommaso for Malines, where we pass the night. I invite to dinner a painter, and the excellent sculptor of Lady Marguerite, Master Conrad. From Malines we pass by Vilvorde to Brussels, where we arrive next day. (I gave three stivers to a messenger.) I dine with the Gentlemen (Meinen Herren) at Brussels; and also with Herr Bonisius,* to whom I offer a Passion on copper. I remit to the Margrave John the recommendatory letter written by the Bishop of Bamberg, along with a Passion on copper, as a remembrance: also I dine with the Gentlemen (Meinen Herren) of Nurnberg.

'In the Rathhaus, in the Golden Chamber, I have seen with admiration four pictures by the great painter Rudier† (Rogier). Behind the palace I have seen the fountains, labyrinths, beast-gardens, and all the other beautiful

including the 'Melancholy,' 'S. Eustache' (Hubert), 'Adam and Eve,' all the 'Passions' on wood and copper, is apparently valued at five florins, little more than five guldens! The words are clear 'das ist alles werth fünf Fl.' The list of prints however, it will be observed, is expressed in four sentences, and the estimate is contained in the last sentence; so it is possible, he means the items mentioned in that sentence are worth this sum. The sum seems inadequate to the whole, but too much for the 'Passions,' &c., by themselves.

* A rich merchant and agent of other merchants.

† Rogier van der Weyden, who died advanced in years in 1464.

things, the like of which I had never seen; the place is like a Paradise. *Item:* The Rathhaus of Brussels is lordly and large, built with fine stone, and having a superb tower. *Item:* Erasmus is the name of the little man who brought my *Supplication* to Jacob Bonisius. I have done the portrait by candlelight, of Master Conrad my host. Also I have done that of the son of Dr. Lamparter in chalk, and that of my hostess.

'I have seen among the curiosities they have brought to the King from the new land of gold,* a sun of gold of the size of a fathom, and a moon of silver of the same size. I have admired two chambers full of all kinds of curious things from the same land; arms, harness, engines of war, vests the most astonishing. I remark that nearly all these things are richer and more beautiful than the same kind of things to be seen at home. They are, it is said, worth a hundred thousand florins. I own that never any sight has excited and gratified me so much as these extraordinary products of that distant country. They show art-work of a subtilty and *ingenia* † altogether new in its shape.

'At Brussels I saw many beautiful things, and especially a gigantic fish-bone, which seemed as if it had been made of cut stones. It weighed about fifteen centner, and was

* Mexico. These must have been part of the spoils of the monstrous cruelties of the Spaniards.

† This word, and the word *Supplication* above, are the words used by Durer, and written not in German, but in Italic letters.

a fathom in size. Its shape was like this—(the sketch had never been inserted). This bone was found at the back of the head of the fish.*

'I visited the Hotel of Nassau; it is a costly building, beautifully furnished. I have lately dined twice with the "Gentlemen." *Item:* Madame (Madonna) Marguerite has sent to seek me in Brussels, and has promised to recommend me to King Charles. She has been towards me very good and gracious. I have given her the Passion engraved on copper, and have made the same gift to her treasurer Jan Marini. I have given two stivers for a mushroom (fungus of rare kind?) and two to hire them to open the picture of the altar of S. Luke.

'On my visit to the Hotel of Nassau, I saw the excellent picture of Master Hugo.† I took notice of the two great salons and all the precious objects dispersed about, particularly the bed that can hold fifty sleepers. I have seen also the great stone that the storm threw down close to the feet of the Count of Nassau.‡ The house is on a high place, and has such a beautiful prospect that no one in Germany can equal it. Master Bernard the painter§ has

* Here and elsewhere Durer appears immensely impressed by novelties in natural history. In these days nature seemed inexhaustible; mermaids, dragons, even devils might be captured some day, who could say!

† Hugo Vandergoes, 'Hugh of Antwerp' of Vasari. He was born at Ghent 1430, became priest in 1476, and died in 1482. He was a great artist of that dry time and school.

‡ Possibly an aërolite. The surprising bed is inexplicable.

§ Bernard Van Orley. He was painter to Marguerite. Born at Brussels,

invited me to his table, and served such a sumptuous dinner, they tell me must have cost him ten florins. To meet me the treasurer of Madame, whose portrait I did, the chamberlain of the court, Meteni by name, and the treasurer of the city, Pusfladis, to whom I gave a Passion engraved on copper, and he presented me with a black Spanish purse of the value of three florins.

'I have given the same set of prints to Erasmus of Rotterdam, and also to Erasmus, the secretary of Bonisius. The Antwerper who gave me the head of a child is named Lawrence Sterk, and I have offered him the seated "S. Jerome" and the "Melancholy." I have drawn in chalk the portrait of Master Bernard, and have begun that of Erasmus of Rotterdam.* (Six persons of Brussels, of whom I have done portraits, have given me nothing.)

'I have bought a pair of bull's horns for three stivers, and given one for two Eulenspiegels.† The Sunday after

1476, he was a few years younger than his guest. He died in 1541. Considering the value of money at that time his entertainment must have been princely.

* This portrait of the philosopher Durer engraved. Erasmus is said to have jocularly remarked, on seeing his portrait from the hand of Durer, 'Oh, if I still resemble this Erasmus, I may look out for getting married,' as if he thought it too young and handsome.

† Either a certain small engraving (most rare, though not one of his best), by Lucas of Leyden, or a little book published in 1483, called Thyl Aylenspiegel. Campe says, 'If he means the first, the two prints then costing one stüber, would now bring nearly twenty napoleons.'

S. Gilgen I say farewell to Hans Ebner.* He would receive nothing for the seven days I have spent with him. I gave his domestic a stiver and we parted, Tommaso and I for Malines. That evening I dine with Madame Newkirchen, and on Monday betimes I return to Antwerp.

'I breakfast with the Consul of Portugal, who gives me three Porzolana,† and Roderigo prayed me to accept some objects of feathers from Calcutta. I purchase for Susanna a mantle, for two florins ten stivers. In my absence, my wife has spent four Rhenish florins for washing, a pair of bellows, an earthenpot, slippers, wood for cooking, stockings, a cage for the parroquet, two goblets, and drink-money. Also she has spent for eating, drinking, and other necessaries, twenty-one stivers.

'Monday after S. Giles: I rearrange with my host Jobst Plankfelt, and I dine there sixteen times.‡ I give to Nicholas, the domestic of Tommaso, a stiver for himself and three for a gift. My host made me a gift of an Indian fowl (turkey?) and a Turkish whip. I dine thirteen times

* Ambassador of Nurnberg: he was councillor and burgomaster: he died in 1553. It is pleasant to find Durer so valued by the ambassador of his native city. The MS. of this journal was preserved by the Ebner family.

† Majolica dishes.

‡ Durer's simple means of recording the number here and on several other occasions, is by so many separate strokes, ||||||||||,||||||.

with Tommaso. *Item:* the two gentlemen of Regendorf invite me to dinner; I accept their invitation, and I sketch their coat of arms on wood, that it may be engraved. I spend a stiver, and my wife changes a gulden for twenty-four stivers. I dine once in the house of the Fuggers, with young Jacob Rehlinger, and another time with him alone. I have given Prince-Palatine Frederick's man, Wilhelm Havenhuth, the engraving of "S. Jerome," and the two half pages of "Mary" and "S. Anthony." *Item:* to Jacob Bonisius a well painted "Veronica," a "S. Eustache," the "Melancholy," "S. Jerome Sitting" "S. Anthony" and two new "Maries," and a new rustic: to his secretary Erasmus, who has sent on my *supplication*, a sitting "S. Jerome," the "Melancholy," "S. Anthony," and two new "Maries;" all these gifts are worth seven florins. I have also offered to the goldsmith Marx a "Passion" on copper, and sold him engravings for three florins. Also works of art for three florins twenty stivers. I have given to the painter on glass Honig, four little pieces on copper. I dine three times with Bonisius. I have given four stivers for charcoal and black chalk, one florin eight stivers for wood; three stivers more have gone. I have dined ten times with the Gentlemen of Nurnberg. *Item:* Master Dietrich, the glass painter, has given me some red colour, which is found in newly-baked bricks here in Antwerp. I have done the portrait in chalk of

Master Jacob of Lubeck, who gave my wife a florin of Philippe. I have given to the Lady Marguerite a sitting "S. Jerome" on copper; I sell a "Passion" on wood for twelve stivers, and an "Adam and Eve" for four. Captain Felix, the lute-player, bought all my works on copper, my "Passion" on copper, that on wood, two half leaves and two quarter leaves, for eight florins of gold.* I do the portrait of Bonisius. *Item:* Roderigo sends me again a parroquet, and I give two stivers to his messenger. I present to the trumpet-player, Johann von der Winkel, a "Little Passion" on wood, a "S. Jerome Praying," and a "Melancholy."

'I buy a pair of shoes for six stivers, and give five for a sea-staff (*Meerruten*). (George Schlautersbach had given me one worth six.) I dine with the Fuggers' agent, Wolf Haller, on the occasion of an invitation he had given the Gentlemen of Nurnberg. *Item:* I have got for my works, two florins of Philippe, six stivers. I dine with my wife, and give a stiver to Hans Dener's servant. I get for my works 100 stivers. *Item:* Master Jacob, Van Rogendorf's painter, I have drawn in chalk;† and the arms of

* The word here used is different from the usual 'florin,' or 'gulden;' it is 'Goldgulden.' The word used above for the price of the 'Passion' on wood and 'Adam and Eve' is 'stüber,' which I have translated 'stiver.' Charles Narrey, 'sou:' the same coin is used here for the price of the pair of shoes. He sells 'Adam and Eve' for four and pays six for a pair of shoes, so that the prices of the finest works of the master were manifestly very small.

† Jacob Cornelisz, a good painter, in much repute before this date.

Van Rogendorf I have sketched on wood, who gave me seven yards of velvet. I draw in chalk the portrait of Jararott Prück, who gave me a florin. *Item:* I give twenty-three stivers for ein Küll rücken Kürschen (?).

'I have given two florins to Hans Schwarzen* for my countenance, to send from Antwerp to Augsburg, by the Fuggers, in a letter. I have bought a shirt of red linen for thirty-one stivers; some of the red colour they get from the newly burnt bricks, two stivers; an ox's horn for nine stivers. I draw the portrait of a Spaniard with chalk. Dine with my wife. Give two stivers for a dozen small pipes (*ein Duzet Pfeiflein*); three stivers for two cups similar to those Felix and Martin Jacob, of Lubeck, gave my wife. Dine with Rogendorf. Give a stiver for a printed sheet relative to the triumphal entry of the King into Antwerp. The gates are garnished with costly allegories, and plays are rehearsed with young girls of rare beauty nearly naked; I have never seen more perfect forms.† (I change a florin.)

He was master to Hans Schobel. Durer elsewhere calls him Jacob of Lubeck, because he had a pension from that city.

* Hans Schwarts, a painter of various kinds of subjects, now very rare. Wood engravings after his designs are to be seen. This sentence is very obscure. The word Durer employs for a portrait is not used here, but 'Angesicht,' which is really 'appearance.' Was this a miniature sent to some one?

† The allegorical plays at this time were made occasions for the display of the beauty of the locality; maidens of the best families competing for

'Here they show people many bones of a giant. His thigh bone is four and a half feet long, and is extremely heavy: his shoulder blade is as large as the whole back of an ordinary man. This giant was eighteen feet high, he governed Antwerp, and did many surprising things; certain men of the city have written a great book about him.*

'The works going on under Raphael d'Urbino are suspended now that great man is dead. One of his disciples, by name Thomas Polonier,† a good painter, desired to see me, and on that occasion presented to me a ring of gold, an antique, with an engraved stone worth five florins, but in fact I have been already offered double that sum for it. I have given him of my best printed works six florins value. *Item:* I have given three stivers for a

the preference, their future husbands boasting of the honour their wives had had in their early time. When the day actually arrived, Charles V. gave great offence by dropping his eyes instead of admiring and applauding. He was only nineteen, and had no doubt been brought up in a severe school. Durer confessed to Melanchthon, who used to visit him during his stay at Nurnberg in 1526, that he was much delighted, too much so, by these damsels, 'he being a painter.' Melanchthon records this in his *Manlii Collectanea Locor. communium*, p. 345. (Note in Campe's *Reliquien*, p. 96.)

* This book exists still in the archives of Antwerp. It is a folio bound in skin of the fifteenth century, and is called *Le vieux Registre de divers Mandements*. P. 33 begins the history of the Giant Brabon and others of his species.

† Supposed to be Tommaso Vincidore of Bologna: he appears to have been sent to Flanders to superintend the execution of certain tapestries after Raphael's designs.

*Calacut* (turkey hen?), one for a messenger, and three for company.

'*Item:* I have offered to Dame Marguerite, sister to King Charles, an example of my engraving. I have also made for her two designs on parchment with the greatest care, which I estimated at thirty florins; and for her physician, the plan of a house he proposes to build; this plan I would not do under ten florins. I give also to Nicholas Ziegler a "Dead Christ," worth three florins; and to the factor of Portugal a head of a child painted; this I could sell for a florin.*

'I have bought a buffalo's horn for ten stivers, and the foot of an elk for a gulden. I have drawn Master Adrian in chalk, and given him works of art of two florins value. I have painted the portrait of a noble lady in the house of Tommaso, and done the portrait of Wolf Rogendorf with the needle (*mit dem Stefft*). *Item:* I paid a stiver for red chalk, and two for the *Condemnation* and the *Dialogues*. I give Nicholas a "S. Jerome in Prayer" and two new Virgins.

'Monday after S. Michael: I give Thomas Polonius (Tommaso Vincidore) all my engraved works. By the

* Here we see how a suitor for place, Durer's object being to succeed as court painter to Charles as he had been to Maximilian, had to distribute his gifts. Suppose the increase on the value of money to be rightly estimated at fifteen times, these gifts at the present day would amount to more than 700*l*.

care of another painter they are to be sent to Rome, and I am to receive in exchange designs from the hand of Raphael. *Item:* I dine with my wife and spend three on a small tractate. Polonius has done my portrait to be sent to Rome.* I give twenty stivers for an elk's foot; two gulden four stivers for a tablet for Hans Ebner: I change a crown to have money for current expenses, giving nine stivers for wood, and twenty for the carriage of my travelling malle.

'I do the portrait of a lady of Bruges, who gives me a florin of Philippe. (Two stivers for varnish, one for stone-colour, thirteen to the furrier, one for leather, two for two shells, two florins four stivers for a portmanteau.) In John Gabriel's house I paint the portrait of an Italian gentleman, who presents me with two florins of gold.

'I leave Antwerp on Thursday after S. Michael for Aix-la-Chapelle, taking a florin and a noble in my purse, and I arrive on Sunday, after passing through Maestricht and Gülpen. Up to this writing my journey has cost me three florins. Here I see the Orders (*proportionirten Säulen*) with their good capitals of red and green porphyry, brought from Rome by Charles. They are very

* This portrait was engraved by Adrian Stock. Below it is this inscription: 'Effigies Alberti Dureri Norici, pictoris et sculptoris hactenus excellentissimi, delineata ad imaginem ejus quam Thomas Vincidor de Bolognia ad vivum depinxit Antwerpiæ, 1520. And. Stock sculp. H. Hondius excudit, 1639.' We have given this portrait etched by the author.

ALBERT DURER, Æ. 50.

*Painted by Tommaso Vincidore at Antwerp, 1520.*

*Etched from the Engraving by A. Stock, 1629.*

LONDON: LONGMANS &C.

artistically made after Vitruvius. I paint the portrait of Hans Ebner twice,* and I draw George Schlautersbach with chalk; also young Christoph Groland and my host Peter van Enden. I give two stivers for a whetstone, five for a bath, a gulden for living expenses, two white-pennies to the official who conducted me into the hall, five for a bath and drinking with friends; also three stivers for the same; and I have lost seven stivers at play with Hans Ebner. I have sketched Paulus Topler and Martin Pfinzing in my book.

'I have seen the arm of Kaiser Henry and the chemise of the Virgin Mary, and other relics. I sketch the church of Notre Dame and the portrait of Sturm,† and the sisters of Kopffinger twice, once with charcoal and once with black chalk. I give ten white-pennies for a great bull's horn, and I lose three at play. I give the daughter of Tommaso a picture of the Trinity worth four florins. Spend a stiver for wax, three for a bath, eight for a buffalo's horn, and two for a belt. *Item:* a gulden of Philippe for a scarlet breast-plate and six white-pennies for paper: one florin for expenses.

'On the 23rd October, King Charles is crowned. The spectacle is so superb I never before was present at any such, and I despair of making any description of it.

* The family of Ebner preserved this journal of Durer; and Murr, who first printed it, did so from the MS. ex Bibliothecâ Ebnerianâ.

† Sketch still existing. Caspar Sturm had charge of Luther at the Diet of Worms.

'I have given Mathias engravings for eleven florins, and three prints to Stephen, Dame Marguerite's chamberlain. I give a florin ten white-pennies for a rosary of cedar wood, a stiver to little Hans, another to the child in the house, and two to a barber, four for two eye-glasses. I lose a white-penny at play, and give eight for two ox horns.

'I proceed to Louvain Friday before SS. Simon and Jude, and visit the church where is the head of S. Anna. Sunday at Cologne. At Brussels I have been harboured and entertained entirely by the Gentlemen of Nurnberg, who would not allow me to pay. At Aix it was the same; for three weeks they insisted on being my hosts, and conducted me from Cologne without my undertaking any trouble.

'I have bought Luther's tractate for five white-pennies, given one for the *Condemnation* of that mighty man, also one for a rosary and two for a belt. I give my great bull's horn to Leonhart Groland, and my great cedar wood rosary to Hans Ebner. Shoes, six white-pennies; small mort-head, two; beer and bread, one; two messengers, four; a barber, two; and two for a sight of the picture by Stephen:* two with friends; one for a little treatise. I

* Stephen Lochner, died 1451. This is a picture said to have been painted in oil in 1410, a triptych, the principal subject being the Adoration of the Magi. It is now in the chapel of S. Agnes, in the cathedral of Cologne.

give Ziegler Lindhart works for two florins, and I do the portrait of the sister of Gott Schalken.

'Sunday evening after All Saints, 1520. Am still at Cologne, and was at King Charles's grand dance (Fürstentanz) and banquet: they were very fine and costly. I draw the armorial bearings of Staber on wood. I give a young Count I meet in Cologne the "Melancholy;" and to Duke Frederick a new Virgin. I draw Nicholas Haller in charcoal. I give two white-pennies to an usher, three for two little tracts, and ten for a cow's horn.

'I have been to the church of S. Ursula, where she is buried with all her Virgins, and seen many other holy things. I draw Förherwergen in charcoal. I have spent a florin; given eight white-pennies to the wife of Nicholas, because she offered me hospitality; also a stiver for two copper-plate prints. All this time (eight days in Brussels, three weeks in Aix-la-Chapelle, and fourteen days in Cologne) the Gentlemen of the Nurnberg embassy (Hans Ebner, Leonhard Haller, and Nicholas Haller) have allowed me to be at no expenses for entertainment. *Item:* I have made the portraits of the nuns at seven white-pennies, and presented them with three half sheet engravings. *Now the Messieurs of Nurnberg inform me they have obtained for me the title of painter of the Court of Kaiser Charles, with great labour and much ado. Monday after S. Martin,* 1520.'

(This brief still remains in the archives of Nurnberg. It bears date Nov. 4, 1520, at Cologne, and requires the magistrates of his city to charge themselves with the continuance of the pension of 100 florins granted Durer by the Kaiser Max. The 'Journal' continues without any break, and records a great many petty expenses and trifling purchases, a few of which we omit.)

# Chapter IX.

*JOURNAL.—RETURN TO ANTWERP.—EXCURSION TO BRUGES AND GHENT.—REPORT OF LUTHER'S DEATH.*

DURER having thus attained the object of his ambition, we might have expected he would have prepared to return home. This, however, he makes no sign of doing. His wife and her maid are at Antwerp, so he must return thither. His journey back occupies a few sentences; he makes a present of a 'Nemesis,' and is entertained by the goldsmiths. He takes boat, but encounters a storm of wind, so he takes horse and gets on well enough in the saddle.

'Thursday after Assumption I see Antwerp again. I pay fifteen stivers to the driver. So here again I take up my quarters with Jobst Plankfelt, and dine with him four times, and my wife twice.* During the seven weeks I have been absent, my wife and her maid have spent seven crowns and four florins on articles purchased. I dine six times with Tommaso. On S. Martin's day my wife had her purse cut off in the church of Our Lady. It was

* This statement is a little remarkable. After his eventful journey he does not seem to live in daily intercourse with his wife. The words are, *und hab diese Mal mit im gessen iiii: dat mein Weib ii.*

worth a florin itself, and in it were two florins and a bunch of keys. *Item:* On S. Catherine's evening, I pay my host Jobst Plankfelt ten gold crowns of my reckoning. *Item:* I dine twice with the Portuguese; Rodrigo presented me with six Indian nuts, and I gave his servant two stivers, and I spent nineteen for parchment. I change two crowns into smaller money. I sell some of my engravings: two "Adam and Eve," a "Sea Monster,"* "S. Jerome," a "Cavalier," "Nemesis," "S. Eustache," seventeen etchings, eight quarter sheets, nineteen woodcuts, seven damaged woodcuts, two books, and ten of the "Little Passion" on wood; all for eight florins. I give three greater books for a half ounce of fine colour. I change a Philippe and my wife another florin.

'At Zirkgen in Zealand, a huge fish was then thrown on land by a storm. It was more than a hundred fathoms long, and no one had ever seen the like. It could not be floated, and the smell of it infected the country; the inhabitants were much embarrassed, but it was cut in pieces, and oil extracted for six months time.

'Stephan Capello gave me a rosary of cedar, on condition that I sketch his portrait. I gave four stivers for kettlebrown (*Kesselbraun*) † and a small pair of snuffers,

* *Ein Mehrwunder:* this is no doubt the print now called the 'Rape of Amymone.'

† 'Kesselbraun.' This word is of some importance, and I think goes far to connect Durer with glass painting. It means kali, a plant, a species

three for paper. I did Felix kneeling in his book with the pen, and he sends me 100 oysters. I present to Herr Lazarus, the big man, a "S. Jerome" and three large books, and Rodrigo has sent me strong wine and oysters. I give seven white-pennies for black chalk. I invite Tommaso Gerhard, his daughter and her husband, the glass-painter Höning, Jobsten and his wife, and Felix, to dinner, which costs me two florins. *Item:* Tommaso sends me a present of four yards of grey damask for a doublet. *Item:* I change a Philippe.

'S. Barbara's eve I rode out of Antwerp, going to Bergen-op-Zoom. Spent one florin six stivers and twelve for the horse. At Bergen I buy a Netherland down cloth for the head, for my wife, at a cost of one florin seven stivers. I buy three pairs of shoes for six stivers, an eye-glass for one, and an apple of ivory for six; drink money two stivers. I counterfeit Jan de Haas,* his wife, and his two daughters, in black charcoal, and sketch their damsel and an old woman in chalk in my book. The townhall here is well built, and the town is good: very agreeable in summer, with two notable markets in the course of the year. On the eve of our Lady (Sept. 7) I leave with my com-

of salsola or glasswort, the ashes of which are used in the making of glass. The literal meaning is 'kettle or furnace brown,' which you will find is the old German name for our more modern kali.' I am indebted for this note to Rev. A. Reid of Ayrshire.

* Sculptor, born at Metz.

panions for Zealand, Sebastian Imhoff lending me five florins. We pass the first night at anchor on the sea; it was very cold, and we had nothing either to eat or drink. Saturday, we reach Ter-Goes, where I draw a girl in the costume here. We leave for Erma, arrive at the isle of Walcheren, pass the night at Ernig, and pass on to Middleburg. In the church of the abbey I see the picture by Johann de Abus (Mabuse); a great picture,* not so good in head-work (*Hauptstreichen*) as in execution. Hence we go to Terveer, where ships from all countries congregate.

'At Armuidem a great misfortune happens. At the moment of our landing, after we had thrown the cable on shore, and some had already got out, a great ship came against us with a tremendous crash. So many crowding out, I had not pushed forward, but was still in the boat with George Kötzler, two old women, the captain, and cabin-boy. The ship that struck us could not be disengaged for some time, but drew us out into the current, and a strong wind blowing at the time, the cable broke, and no sailors on board, our situation was not very pleasant, when we found ourselves in the open sea. It was vain to call to those on shore; they would not hazard themselves in the

* John Gossaert, called Mabuse, from the place of his birth, about 1470. He died at Antwerp in 1532. The picture in question was a 'Descent from the Cross.' It was destroyed by lightning on January 24, 1568.

terrific gale that so strangely sprang up. The captain gave himself up to despair. I told him to take courage and put his trust in God. 'And what shall we do then?' answered he. My advice was to hoist the small sail and turn the boat by that means. By a united effort we did so, and tacked against the wind, and were in a fair way to get into harbour again, which those watching us along the shore seeing, at last came to our aid.

'Middleburg is a fair city with a fine hotel de ville and a grand tower, all done with good art. In the abbey is a rood-loft of a beautiful and costly character, and a remarkable portico of stone. The parish church very good. If I return here I shall take a sketch of this charming place. Zealand is a wonderful country with skilful people. The great ships sail about as if on the fields. At Ernig I sketch the portrait of mine host. Master Hugo, Alexander Imhoff, and Frederich, the servant of Hirchvogel, all gave me a turkey hen they had won at a game; the landlord presented me with a growing onion.

'In the morning we part again in the ship, and arrive at Terveer, then at Ziericzee, where I wish to see the whale, but have not the fortune. I spend two florins for pens, two for a mantle, four stivers for a cage, and three to the porter. I lose six stivers at play, and pass on to Bergen. I have given ten stivers for an ivory comb; I have done portraits of Clausen and the landlord Aiden. I have

given two florins less five stivers for tin, and again two florins for a bad piece of the tin. I hâve done portraits of young Bernhard de Bresles, of George Kötzler, and Francis de Cambrai. Each gave me a florin. Also Has Eiden, who gave me the same. Also Nicholas Soilir. Again I buy two pieces of bedticks for four florins less ten stivers.

'This is the ninth time I have dined at Bergen, four stivers each time. I give the coachman three stivers, and arrive again in Antwerp, Friday after S. Lucy (December 13), with Jobst Plankfelt, with whom and my wife I dine, paying him past expenses.

'Herr Lazarus von Rafensburg gives me in exchange for my three books, certain curiosities, five snail shells, a great fish scale, four silver *medoien* (medals?), five copper do, two small dried fish, two white corals, four cane arrrows. I change a crown. I dine by myself nine times.

'The Consul of Portugal has sent me a bag of brown velvet, and a box with pretty lattice-work. I have given a florin for two small tablets, four gold guldens for sea cats, fourteen stivers for five fishes, two stivers for two treatises. I give Lazarus Rafensburg his portrait painted on a tablet, which cost six stivers, eight large prints on copper, eight half sheet engravings, a "Passion" on copper, with other engravings and woodcuts, altogether worth more than four guldens. *Item:* thirty-one stivers for

wood. Draw Bernhard Pombelli's portrait, and that of the daughter of the procurator Sebastian. Gerhard Pombelli sends me a Turkish cloth, and Wolff seven Brabant yards of velvet: I give his messenger a florin. I dine eight times with Portugal, once with the Treasurer, ten times with Tommaso, once with Lazarus, with Wolff, with Bernard Stecher, with Arnold Meyting, with Gaspard Lewenter, and each time I give four stivers to domestics.

'I have given three stivers to a man of whose face I made a study, and two to his serving-man, and receive four florins for art-works.* I change a crown: six stivers lost at play, and spend six. I change a noble: give eighteen stivers for rosin and three pairs of knives: two florins to Jobst. I give to Master Jacob two "S. Jeromes" on copper, and to each of the three daughters of Tommaso a pair of knives cost five stivers. I have been at play many times and end by losing seven stivers. Receive twenty-nine stivers for art-works, and Roderigo gave me a scented apple, a basket of musk tree, a box of sugar, and other rarities. I make a portrait of Jobst's wife in charcoal. My wife has been godmother to a child, and given childgift one florin four stivers: lose two stivers at play. Give an "Apocalypse" to Master Dietrich the glass

* This we must suppose to mean the sale of engravings, as it occurs so repeatedly, although the word used is Kunst (art).

painter and the six knots,* forty stivers for flax; eight lost at play. I have given the Consul of Portugal junior my canvas with the little child, worth ten florins; Dr. Loffen of Antwerp four books and a "S. Jerome" on copper. I do the portraits of the son and daughter of Tommaso with the point. *Item:* I paint the figure of the Archduke in oil on a tablet. Roderigo of Portugal has given me two cloths of Calcutta, one of silk, a baretta much ornamented, a green pot full of *mirabulon*,† and a branch of cedar (ten florins worth). I have made a design for Fugger of a mask; he gave me an angelot.‡ I give eight stivers for two small powder-horns. I lose three stivers at play, and change an angelot. I do two leaves of masks, pretty ones, for Tommaso. I paint a good "S. Veronica" in oil on panel, worth twelve florins, which I give Franciscus the Consul of Portugal; and a portrait of his wife, better than the last mentioned, which I give him. For the first our maid had a florin given her, for the Veronica a florin, and she received another from Brandon.

'On the eve of the Carnival, the goldsmiths invite me to dinner with my wife. There are many distinguished people

* Most probably the woodcuts of ornaments in the shape of runic knots.

† 'There be fruits that be sweet before they be ripe, as mirabolanes; so fennel seeds are sweet before they ripen, and after grow spicie, &c.' And afterwards: 'but as for the mirabolane, it hath parts of contrarie natures, for it is sweet and yet astringent.'—Bacon's *Sylva Sylvarum*, 2nd ed. p. 157.

‡ A coin bearing the figure of the Archangel Michael, worth two florins two stivers.

at this gathering; the banquet is superb, and they show me much honour. Towards the evening, the former burgomaster* of the town invited me. He gave me a costly entertainment, and did me honour; at the end came in mummers.

'I have done the portrait in chalk of Flores, the organist of Dame Marguerite. On the Monday of the Carnival I was invited to a grand dinner by N. Lopez,† which took two hours to serve, and was very finely done. *Item:* Lorenz Stark has given me a Spanish surcoat, and at this festival were also mummers, splendidly decked, especially Tommaso and Branbell. I won two florins at play. I give fourteen stivers for a basket of raisins, and draw the portrait in chalk of Bernard von Castell, from whom I won the money at play. *Item:* Tommaso's brother Gerard has sent me four yards of the best Brabantish black satin, and three great boxes with others inside. Wood costs me thirteen stivers, varnish two. I do the portrait of the Procurator's daughter with the point. Master John,‡ from Metz, the good statuary, has asked me to do his portrait. I do it with pleasure; he has studied in Italy, and much resembles Christopher Kohler. I have bought Italian works of art from Jan Türken for three florins, and given

* Chevalier Gérard van de Werve.

† Chevalier Lopez, ambassador of the King of Portugal.

‡ John de Haes.

twelve ducats worth of my works for an ounce of good ultramarine. For the "Little Passion" on wood I have received three florins, and for two sketches and four books of Schaufelein's* art three more. Two ivory salt cellars from Calcutta cost me three florins. I receive two florins for my works. *Item:* Rudiger von Gelern has given me a little box full of coins, gold and silver, worth a quarter florin: I send him my three large books and a "Cavalier" on copper. I spend eleven stivers on objects of art, and two florins for "SS. Peter and Paul," which I present to Frau Koler. *Item:* Roderigo has given me a box of plaited work and many other things, and Lazarus Ravensburger a sugar loaf. Wood costs me six stivers. *Item:* I dine once with the Frenchman, twice with Herchvogel, once with Erasmus of Rotterdam along with secretary Peter.† I give a stiver to a man who shows me the tower of Antwerp. This tower‡ is higher than that of Strasburg; one sees the whole town from it. Consul Brandon makes me a gift of two great white sugar-

* Hans Schauflein, one of the best of Durer's pupils: principally, however, only a draughtsman for wood engraving.

† Peter Egidius, or Giles, afterwards recorder of Antwerp: born 1486, died 1533. He was the intimate friend of Sir T. More and Erasmus. Matsys did the portraits of Egidius and Erasmus on two panels connected by some Latin lines, wherein they are called Castor and Pollux.

‡ This tower was begun in 1422, by the architect John Amelius of Bologna, or by Peter Smit, called Apelmans; it is uncertain which. It was long unfinished, and was never as high as the Strasburg spire, or tower supporting the spire, perhaps we ought to say.

loaves, a box of sugar, and two green pots of sweets, also four yards of black satin.* I make a portrait of the pretty daughter of Gerhard. I dine with Laurent Stark, who gives me an ivory flute and a pretty piece of porcelain; and I give him some works in exchange; also, to Adrian, orator of the town; and to the great rich guild of merchants a "S. Nicholas" seated: they have prayed me to accept three florins as a gratuity.

'I have confided my malle to Jacob and Andrew Hessler for transportation to Nurnberg; it is to be lodged with Hans Imhoff the elder. They are to have two florins per quintal; I have already given them two florins. On the Sunday,† Roderigo sent me six cocoa-nuts, a beautiful coral branch, and two Portuguese golden florins, each weighing ten ducats.

'I have made a sketch for Tommaso, partly coloured, after which he may have his house painted.‡ I have made with much study a "S. Jerome" in oil for Roderigo, who gave Susanna a ducat. I give ten stivers to my confessor, and four for a little tortoise. I dine with Gilbert,

* Durer's invariable entry after every gift is the 'trinckgelt,' he gives the *knecht* or *magd*. After repeating this formula about twenty times, I leave it to be implied. I omit also the repetition of his changing large money for small.

† 'Sontag Judicä,' in the original.

‡ 'Ich hab den Tomasin ein Viesirung gemacht, mit halben Färblein und gerissen, darnach er sein Haus wird lassen mahlen.' This seems to show that interiors of private houses had already begun to be painted.

who gives me a small shield from Calcutta made of fish-scales and two small gauntlets. I have sketched in red chalk the portrait of Cornelius, secretary of Antwerp. I have bought six brushes for twenty stivers; five silk belts for three florins sixteen stivers. Six *porten* (?) I have sent to the wives of Caspar Rutslin, Hans Imhoff, Sträubin, Spengler, Loffelhölz, and a good pair of gloves to each; to Pirkheimer a rich barret, a costly inkhorn, a silver kaiser, and three sugar-canes; to Caspar Nützel a great elk's foot, and ten large ornamented dancing monkeys; to Jacob Muffel a scarlet pinafore; to little Hans Imhoff a scarlet baretta, ornamented; to little Fräulein Lochinger, to Fräulein Kramer, to the two Spenglers, each some presents and three pretty horns; to Herr Jerome Holzschuher a very large horn.

'I have dined twice with the Consul and once with Master Adrian, who has given me a small picture of Lot and his daughters by Master Joachim.* I have sold works for twelve florins, and bought some of Hans Grün for a florin.† I paint in oil Bernard de Reszen, who gives me eight florins for the picture, and presents a crown to my wife and a twenty-four-stiver florin to Susanna. I have given

* Joachin Patinier, before mentioned.

† Hans Beldung Grün designed on wood with great power. About this part of the 'Journal' I have omitted a number of small items: all, however, unimportant, and for the most part repetitions. Also after his return from Ghent.

Ambrose Hochstetter a "Life of the Virgin," and he has sent me a drawing of his ship. Roderigo has presented my wife with a fine ring worth more than five florins. I do the portrait of Consul Brandon with charcoal, and that of his negress with the point, and that of Roderigo with the brush on a great sheet of paper in black and white. I have bought a piece of camlet of twenty-four yards for eleven florins, two stivers for gloves. Lucas of Dantzig, whose portrait I did in charcoal, gave me a florin and a piece of sandal wood.

'Sunday after Easter, 1521. Leave Antwerp for Bruges with Hans Luber and Master Jan Plos, a good painter, born at the latter place. We go by the Scheldt and pass Bevern, a great village, and Vracene, another large village. From town to town, and village to village, we reach S. Paul, where is a rich abbey; afterwards, by Kalve, we sleep at Erdvelde. Next morning to Eccloo, a town with a large paved place and market. We breakfast there and go on to Maldeghem and other fair villages, and arrive at Bruges, a mighty beautiful city. Jan Plos gives me hospitality, and, in the evening, has a royal entertainment with a crowd of people. Next day goldsmith Marc does the same thing. They take me to the Kaiserhaus, great and rich. In the chapel I have the pleasure of seeing Rudiger's* picture, and others of that

* Roger Van der Weyden.

great old master. (Thirty stivers for three ivory combs.) They convoy me also to the church of S. Jacques, where are very fine works both of Rudiger and Hugo,* great men. I see also the statue of the Virgin in alabaster, by Michelangelo of Rome,† in the church of Notre Dame. In many other churches are fine pictures, that by Johannes ‡ and other masters. The chapel of the painters § contains many interesting things. They invite me to a rich banquet in the guild-chamber, where I meet the best men among painters, goldsmiths, and merchants. They do me no end of honour; I sup with them also; and the two brothers Jacob and Peter Must, the town-councillors, present me with twelve cans of wine, and, at the end, the whole society, sixty persons, conduct me home with torches. I also visit the Shooters' guild, and see the great fish-tub they eat from; it is nineteen feet long, seven high, and seven broad.‖ Before leaving the town I do the portraits of Jan Plos and his wife with the point, and give his people ten stivers for adieus.

* One of the pictures here indicated seems to be a Virgin with the Child Christ, by Hugo Van der Goes.

† This Madonna still keeps the same place over the altar in the same church.

‡ Most probably Durer speaks of Van Eyck, but as Hemlinck and Spital, also a much esteemed artist, were both called John, it is difficult to determine.

§ The chapel of the guild, or academy.

‖ This great dish, like the great bed mentioned before, requires some explanation.

'Leave Bruges. Breakfast at Orchel, and, after passing six villages, reach Ghent. On stepping from the boat, I am met by the dean of the painters and the foremost men with him, who do me much honour, and offer me their services. They take me with them, and in the evening we feast together. Wednesday morning they take me to the top of the tower of S. John, whence I see the whole of this wonderful and great city. The great picture of Johannes* is truly a skilful and noble work. I admire it completely; how fine are the figures of Eve, Mary, and God the Father! I visit the living lions, and I draw one of them with the point.† On the bridge where the executions take place, there are two statues, commemorating the fact of a son having beheaded his father. Ghent is a splendid city. Four streams flow through it. The Ghentois have shown me much friendship and honour; from morning to night every thing has been at my service. On Thursday morning, after breakfasting at the sign of the Swan, I leave for Antwerp.

'Friday before Pentecost, 1521, the cry reaches us at

* This is the Adoration of the Lamb, from the Apocalypse, by John and Hubert van Eyck. In some respects, one of the most notable pictures in the world.

† This sketch was etched on copper by Hollar; it was then in the Arundel Collection. A lion and four lionesses were sent by Charles V. from Tunis to Dorn van Vaernewyck of Ghent, a few years later, no doubt, for this town menagerie.

Antwerp that Martin Luther has been treacherously seized. Under escort of the Kaiser's guards, and traveling with a safe-conduct, it seems he was abandoned in a solitary place near Eisenach. The herald declared he ceased any longer to be his guide, and so quitted him; immediately ten horsemen emerged and laid hands on him. So this man, enlightened by the Holy Ghost to be the continuer of the true faith, has disappeared. Have they murdered him?—I do not know.

'If he has suffered, it is for the Christian truth against the unchristian papacy, which works against the freedom of Christ; exacting from us our blood and sweat therewith to nourish itself in idleness while the peoples famish. It is very sad and heavy to me, that God allows so much false teaching and blindness in men we call *fathers*, and permits the excellent worth of religion to be falsified and removed. God of heaven, have pity upon us! O Lord Jesu Χρε! pray for thy people; save us in thy right time; preserve in us the true faith; collect thy widely wandering sheep through thy voice in the Bible, called the Word of God. Help us to know thy voice, and prevent us following the paths of men. Lord Jesu Χρε! call thy sheep from all lands, now wandering, some in the Romish church, and some among the Indians, Muscovites, and Greeks, separated from each other by the pretensions of popes. Oh God! make thy poor people free, now bound

by commandments and laws causing them to sin against conscience. O God! never were men so cruelly put down under human laws as under those of the Roman chair, men who were saved by thy precious blood, and made free Christians. O Father, highest in heaven! pour into our hearts, through thy Son Ihm XSM., the light that will guide us and show us the true leader, that we may leave the false guides with a clear conscience, and serve thee with the joy of our hearts.

'And so this man, who has written more clearly than any other for 140 years, to whom Thou hast given a spirit so evangelic, being gone, raise us up another who will be able to gather all the world into the faith, and bring Turks, Pagans, Indians, within the Christian fold. But Lord, Thou, whose Son Ihs XS died by the priests, was raised and ascended into heaven, hast willed that his follower Martin Luther may be killed treacherously through the pope's hirelings: raise again the spirit of this apostle. As Jerusalem was destroyed of old, so destroy with thy power the chair of Rome. Give us a new Jerusalem, adorned with the splendours as written in the Apocalypse, a new evangel cleared of human commentaries!

'Every one sees how clear the doctrine in Luther's books is announced, and how it conforms to the holy evangel. We must preserve them from being burned; rather let us throw into the fire the books that have been

written to oppose them, with their falsehoods and pretensions changing men into gods! If Luther is dead, who will explain to us the evangel with the same clearness? How much might he not have still written in ten or twenty years! All you pious Christians, deplore with me the loss of this man, and pray the Lord that he will send another guide. O Erasmus, of Rotterdam, where wilt thou remain?* Wilt thou see the injustice and blind tyranny of the powers now ruling? Hear me, knight of Christ! ride by the side of our Lord XS; old as thou art and but a feeble creature (*männiken*), thou too mayst win the martyr's crown. I heard thee say that thou wilt only give thyself two years for work; employ them well for the love of the evangel and the true faith. Make thy voice heard: the Roman chair, even the gates of hell, will not prevail against thee; and if thou reachest thy journey's end in the same manner as thy master Christ, with pain and ignominy, if thy days are a little shortened, through death life will come, and through Christ thou wilt be glorified.† Drinking of his cup, thou wilt reign and judge with him. O Erasmus! may God, thy judge, be glorified in thee. As of David it is written, so do thou: Slay

* In Basle; there to live as comfortably as his feeble health would allow, not for two years only but for fifteen, long after Durer himself was in the grave, writing in opposition to all the leaders of the movement.

† Durer here uses a peculiar word, 'durch Christum *clarificirt*.' His use of the initial letters for the name of Christ, I have retained.

Goliath. For the Lord will be with thee in the Christian church. May the Divine will help us to the beatitudes at last. Glory to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, one God! Amen.

'O ye Christians! pray to God for help, for his judgment approaches, and his justice will be shown. Then shall we see of whom the blood of the Innocents will be required, whether of popes, priests, or monks, and that they will be tried and condemned. "These, under the altar, are the saints who were slain; they cry for vengeance. To whom a voice from heaven answered, Labour still, until the number of the martyrs is made up; then shall I judge!"'

## Chapter X.

*END OF THE JOURNAL.—RETURN TO NURNBERG.*

AFTER this burst of enthusiasm and indignation, now, as we know, without cause, as far as Luther's well-being was concerned, the 'Journal' returns to its bald entries of daily doings. It is very interesting to see the interpretation of Luther's disappearance, indicating, as it does, the suspicion that the priestly party would stop at nothing. Instead, however, of danger to the Reformer, his disappearance was his safety, the Elector Frederick having carried him to the castle of Wurtburg. Albert's strong bias may have been loudly expressed by word of mouth, as well as entered in his book, for the Lady Marguerite shows him no more favour, as we shall see.

Continuation of 'Journal.' 'Master Gerhard, the illuminator, has a daughter of eighteen years, named Susanna, who has illuminated a small plate for which I have given her a florin.* She is a wonderful child to be able to do

* This is Gerard Horebout, or Hurembout, who became painter to our Henry VIII., and this daughter Susanna flourished at court, and was much esteemed. Her brother Lucas also followed the same art.

the work so perfectly. I lose six stivers at play. On the day of the Holy Trinity, I witness the splendid procession.

'Master Conrad sends me a gift of a beautiful razor. I present his old serving man with a "Life of the Virgin." John, the goldsmith of Brussels, has given me three florins of Philippe for two portraits in charcoal and a design for a seal. I have exchanged with him the "Veronica" I painted on cloth, and the "Adam and Eve" done by Franz, for a jacinth and an agate, on which is engraved a "Lucretia," valued by every one at fourteen florins; and for a ring and six small precious stones I have given him all my printed works; we reckon the value at seven florins.*

*Item:* I pay fourteen stivers for two pairs of shoes: I have made three designs and two oil studies on three half-sheets, and three portraits with black and white on grey papers. Also in this way, with white and black, three portraits of Flemish costumes. Also the coat of arms of an Englishman in colours, who sent me a florin. *Here and there I have done a great many things to serve people I have met, but for the greater part my works have brought me nothing.*

'Here was another immense procession on Easter eve.

* The literal meaning is not very clear, but we may understand that both parties consider the value of their articles so much: seven florins of gold, therefore, was Durer's price for such a set of his engravings. He afterwards values the set he presents to Lucas of Leyden at eight florins.

Six stivers to the doctor and one for a box. I dine five times with Tommaso. To the apothecary ten stivers and also fourteen: to apothecary also fifteen for recipes. To the doctor six stivers; to the apothecary ten; and eight to a monk who came to see my wife.

'For a whole piece of satin of Arras I have given eight florins, and also eight for fourteen yards of fine Arras. To the apothecary, for the doctor, I gave thirty-two stivers.

'1521, this Wednesday, after Corpus Christi, I get Antony Mez von Schlauderdorff to take my great packages for transport to Nurnberg: half a florin per quintal. I have paid him a gulden. Herr Hans Imhoff will answer for me. (I have done the portrait of young Rehlinger in charcoal.)

'The eighth day after Corpus Christi I go to Malines with my family, to see Dame Marguerite. We stop at the Golden Head, with Master Heinrich the painter.* Before I had got settled, the painters and sculptors invited me to their hall, and did me much honour. I was afterwards taken to the house of Popenreuther, the founder of artillery, where I saw many things worthy of admiration.

'I have been to see the Lady Marguerite, and took the portrait of the Kaiser, which I intended to present to her,

* Supposed to be Heinrich van Bles, or Henri à la Houppe. He had a peculiarity of introducing an owl in some obscure corner of his pictures.

but she took such a displeasure therein, I withdrew it. On Friday after, she showed me all her beautiful things in art. Among these were forty small pictures in oil, pure and good; I never have seen finer miniatures. Also other good things by Johannes,* and by Jacob Walsh.† I asked my Lady to give me Master Jacob's book,‡ but she said she had promised it to his successor.§ I saw many other costly things, and a rich library.

'Master Popenreuter invited me to dine with him, and I had Conrad twice to dine with me and his wife once. I do his portrait, and that of Stephan Kemmerling, and the same day leave Mechlin for Antwerp again; my baggage having gone first. I have dined twice with the Augustines. I have also done Master Jacob's face in charcoal, from which I make a little picture and present it to him. Also Bernard Stecher and his wife, and I give him all my engraved works; indeed this is the second time I have drawn her; he gives me ten florins.

'Master Lucas has invited me to eat with him. He is

* John van Eyck.

† Jacob Walsh, called also Jacopo de' Barbarj, having lived a great part of his life in Venice, although a native of Nurnberg. His pictures are now little known, but his engravings are of astonishing beauty. They were indeed unrivalled in technical qualities at that period.

‡ Presumably a book of sketches left in her hands by her deceased painter.

§ Bertrand von Orley.

the engraver on copper, a little man, here at Antwerp for pleasure, having come from his own town Leyden in Holland.

'I have portrayed Master Lucas of Leyden with the point. Lose a florin at play. Given the doctor six stivers twice. I have sent the abbot of the Augustine cloister a "Life of the Virgin." For fourteen fish skins I pay two florins Philippe. I do portraits of Arst Braun and his wife in black chalk.

'I have given works to the value of a florin to the goldsmith who valued my rings, the three rings for which I exchanged copies of my works. The two of least worth are valued at fifteen crowns, and that with the sapphire at twenty-five, which makes fifty-four florins eight stivers. Besides other things, the Frenchman had thirty-six great books at nine florins. I find he has given me too little value by half. I am a fool at a bargain.*

'I pay eighteen stivers for a red barette for my godchild. Lose twelve at play. Buy three lovely (small) rubies for eleven guldens twelve stivers. Dine with the Augustines, and twice with Tommaso. Pay six stivers for thirteen wild sea-swine brushes, and three for six others. I do Arst Braun and his housewife in black chalk on two

* Literally 'I have no intellect' (*Ich habs nit verstanden*). It is clear his old acquaintance with the jeweller's art must have been quite forgotten.

sheets, and these I have afterwards done with the point; he paid me an angel. I pay a florin for a pair of gravers and twenty-one stivers for a dozen ladies' gloves.

'Anthony Haunolt gives me three Philippes for his portrait, and Bernard Stecher has presented me with a little book bound in tortoise-shell. I do the portrait of his sister-in-law's daughter, and dine with the husband; he gives me two Philippes. To master Joachim I give the things by Grünhausen.* To mine host Jobst's wife I give four wood engravings, and two great books to his man Frederick, and two to the son of Honigen the glass-painter. Roderigo sends me a gift of a parroquet from Malaga.

'To Master Ast, the glass-painter, I give a "Life of the Virgin," and to Master John, the French sculptor, my whole printed works, he having presented my wife with six precious glass flaskets filled with rose-water. Cornelius the secretary has given me Luther's "Captivity of Babylon," for which I return him my three great books, and give the monk, Peter Puz, engravings worth a florin.

'Lucas of Leyden and I exchange our entire printed works; I value mine at eight florins.

'*Item:* A purse, nine stivers; a half dozen Netherland cards, seven; a little yellow post horn, three; coarse cloths,

* Hans Baldung Grün, the painter, better known by the remarkable wood engravings from his designs.

twelve and five stivers; for cord, seven; placards, three. Roderigo has presented me with six yards black cloth for a cap, worth a crown a yard.

'I have reckoned with Jobst, and have paid him thirty-one florins, counting in the two portraits I did in oil, closing my bill to him on SS. Peter and Paul's day. He has given me by way of compliment five Netherland pounds of borax.

'I may say here that, in all my affairs, expenditure, trading, and so on, with great or little people, I have let others have the advantage, especially the Lady Marguerite, who has given me nothing for my works, presented to, or executed for, her.*

'I arrange for our transport to Cologne for thirteen light guldens and twenty-four light stivers, the driver and boy to be provisioned by me; Jacob Relinger pays me a ducat for his portrait in chalk; Gerhard sends me two small barrels of capers and olives; and I have exchanged

* This sentence is printed by Campe in a more conspicuous type than the rest of the 'Journal;' also the sentence below, recording Imhoff's loan. Whether this is done for any reason found in the MS. we know not. Various small items of purchases, &c., are here omitted in our translation. This act of borrowing has been much dwelt upon by all previous writers on Durer as showing his poverty; also his doing the portraits of his host and hostess. Nothing can be more gratuitous, or even absurd. He gives his bond for the money, and indeed within the next week or two gains by his painting nearly half of this large sum. With regard to Jobst Plankfelt, at that time the host was a man of great importance, and associated with his guests on an equality.

with Jacob, the son-in-law of Tommaso, my portrait of the Kaiser for English white cloth.

'Eve of the Feast of the Virgin, 1521. Alex. Imhoff lends me 100 florins. I give him my seal and signature with promise to pay with thanks on the same being presented to me at Nurnberg. I pay the apothecary eleven stivers, and give some gifts; to Tommaso's cook a Philippe (with him I have dined many times lately); to the little jungfrau his daughter a golden florin; to my host Jobst's wife a florin, one also to his cooks, and some stivers to others. And now, as I prepare to leave Antwerp on the day of the Visitation, the King of Denmark * sends for me in haste, to ask me to sketch his portrait. This I did in charcoal, and also that of his chamberlain Antonio. He made me eat with him, and was very frank and gracious.

'That done, I give over my baggage to Leonard Tucher, including the white cloth, but I have not agreed with the voiture, as I thought I had. Gerhard, too, gives me more Italian works. I had already given the *Vicarius* charge of certain curiosities, and we leave for Brussels on the same day with the King of Denmark, to whom I offer some of my best engravings worth five florins: our voiture costs two. It is curious to see how the Antwerpers wonder at the great manly beauty of the King, and at his traversing

* Christian II., king of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, a remarkable man, who was called by some the 'Nero of the North.'

without fear his enemy's country. I witnessed his arrival at Brussels, where he was received with great pomp; and I went to the splendid and costly banquet given him by the Kaiser and Lady Marguerite next day. *Item:* for my gloves two stivers.

'Master Antonio pays me twelve florins; I give two to the painter who prepares the panel and colours for the portrait. The King of Denmark gives a grand banquet to the Emperor, Lady Marguerite, and the Queen of Spain. He invites me, and I go. *Item*: I give twelve stivers to the King's provider, and to the King himself I exhibited his portrait finished in oil, for which he presented me with thirty florins.

'At Brussels I remain eight days and pay twenty-two stivers for my lodging, making a number of gifts of my works to those who serve me, particularly to Bartholomew, the master-painter's apprentice, who prepared my colours. Also Polonius (Tommaso Vincidore before mentioned) gave me some more Italian works. With Nicholas Zigler I dine.

'After a detention of two days for want of a conveyance, I arrange to pay ten florins for a voiture, and quit Brussels early on Friday morning, paying my hostess five stivers for the lodging overnight. After traversing two little towns we reach Louvain, where we refresh ourselves for thirteen stivers. We arrive at Tirlemont in the

evening, where we sleep. Early next morning we leave: passing two villages we reach S. Trond, where is a very well built tower: we then gain Tongres, where we breakfast. After passing some very poor villages we arrive at Maëstricht, where we sleep. I spend twelve stivers, and give two white-pennies to the watch.

'Sunday morning early we are at Aix, where we eat very well for fourteen stivers. From thence in six hours to get to Altenburg, where we must stay, as the driver had lost his way several times. Monday we pass through Juliers, and go on to Bercham, where we refresh ourselves. From this place we go to Cologne.'

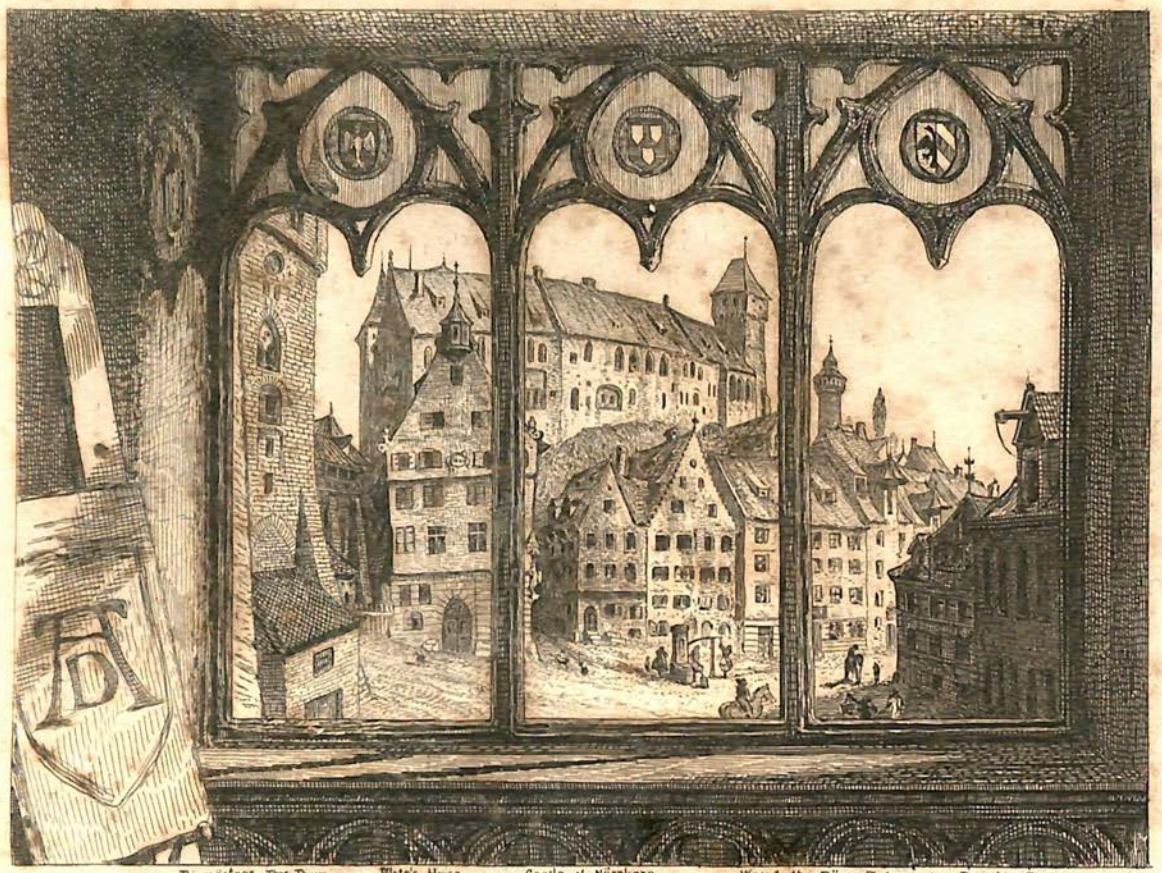
END OF THE JOURNAL.

## Chapter XI.

*DURER'S PUPILS: THE LITTLE MASTERS.—DURER'S LATEST MANNER IN PAINTING.*

BEFORE the 'Journal' now ended was known to exist, Durer's journey and motive in taking it were described in the wildest manner. Sandrart and Arend, another old Nurnberg writer on Durer, venture to affirm he left home to escape domestic broils and the tyranny of Agnes. And this fable, even now that the production of the 'Journal' shows he took Agnes with him and her maid Susanna too, has been reluctantly resigned. Another fable, hitherto tenaciously reiterated, is the poverty of Durer. The latest writer, Dr. Waagen, in his 'Histoire de la Peinture en Allemagne,' 1863, perpetuates this folly in print. 'Afin d'introduire un peu d'aisance dans son intérieur, monté cependant sur un pied bien modeste,' (!) he says, 'pour y vendre ses gravures, qui étaient réellement son gagne-pain,' &c., so difficult it is to dispossess a weak understanding of a pre-established idea.

We must suppose the house at the Thiergärtner gate




VIEW FROM DURER'S HOUSE.

LONDON: LONGMANS &Co

all the time of Durer's absence inhabited, possibly by his brother and by his assistant Hans Springinklee, who certainly spent many years in Durer's service and household. The return of Durer with his female belongings, parroquets in cages, small tortoises, and all the sumptuous and curious gatherings he and his wife had made, must have been an event in Nurnberg. His Oriental objects, Calcutta specimens, natural history curiosities, never before seen there, would supply amusement for some time to come.

Whatever may have been the influence of Agnes, there is no evidence of any power exercised by her in restraining Albert's habits of collecting. And there was ample reason, one would say: the odds and ends, large objects and small, involving outlays amounting altogether to a large sum purchased by him either to keep or to give away, are no less amusing than unaccountable. Sell his prints he certainly does, and get money by painting, but his gifts are continuous, and his purchases without end. We are not surprised his money came to an end. When he does paint or design portraits, the etiquette seems to have been to leave the honorarium to the employer, a very bad plan certainly, and likely to bring a noble nature and modest man to grief. He had, however, a resource few other painters ever had, a long list of much coveted engravings.

But he had attained his object and he returned home with the continuance of his appointment of painter to the Kaiser. We must remember that the importance of patronage was then tremendous, and continued so for many generations. On every one of Lucas Cranach's designs we see the arms of Saxony, as if art were an impertinence without the heraldry of the patron; and there is no doubt that the complaint of Albert on his return from Venice in 1506, that there he was a gentleman, but in Nurnberg nobody, expresses very much the different conditions of the painter north and south of the Alps. Even very lately in England we know what the life of a poet without fortune was: the position of the painter must have been even worse. At this very time was living in Nurnberg, an artist who has left remarkable works, Ludwig Krug, or as he is now more correctly called, Lucas Kornelisz. His mark is a little jug (*Krug*) and his initials L. K., one letter on either side. Why he chose this sign and got this name, it is difficult to say; perhaps he was not favourable to abstinence from Bavarian beer. But this artist (who expressed himself by the new art of engraving, designing and executing his own works ably, and in one print, that of the 'Adoration of the Shepherds,' dated 1516, correctly expressed for the first time in German art the light issuing from the babe in the manger) was called 'The Cook,' because he was so poor that he had to fall back

upon that trade, and hire himself out for marriage and other festivals! * One man wore the gold chain of his native city like Lucas Cranach, another hired himself out as a cook; and the difference might lie, not in the men but in their patrons, the one being the servant of the Elector, the other of the public.

The appointment of court painter did not lead to any employment. It may be that Charles V. never came within the range of Durer during the remaining years of the life of the artist. At Durer's death he was still a very young man, but he had been painted in Venice, in Spain, and elsewhere; and there is an anecdote of his sitting to Christopher Amberger of Augsburg in 1532, whom he presented, on the completion of the portrait, with a gold chain and thirty-six rix dollars, more than double the price asked, remarking that he thought the picture as good as that he had paid Titian 100 for.†

Back in Nurnberg Durer draws towards his end. He is now becoming rich, and finds a difficulty in placing out his money safely at interest. The illness we have seen alarm him in the Netherlands, and for which he was constantly consulting doctors and paying them no exorbitant fees,

* Van Mander with notes by Jac. de Jongh. Edition, 1764. T. I. 102.

† Another peculiarly characteristic anecdote of Charles V. relates that, a heavy shower coming on one day he had on a new velvet cap, he took it off, and put it in his pocket, saying, 'the rain might spoil the velvet, but would do his head no harm!'

never left him. At least so it has been said: he had not the same energy as before these two years of absence from home. His sympathy with Luther and the new doctrine might cut him off from the Lady Marguerite and the court, but as he had actually received his appointment, he might not feel this at home in Nurnberg. But this mysterious illness was a more serious thing, and the illustrious citizens, Spengler, Pirkheimer, the Baumgärtners, who would gather about him, would have the mortification of seeing the fatal mark upon him. Not that we can ascertain any decrease of application, nor in his powers; although a considerable change in their direction. Not so many engravings follow this time, but his noblest and most accomplished paintings, his study of Proportion, Geometry, and Fortification, with the three literary labours on these subjects remaining to us; also his carvings and his architectural works, if it is true that the Round Towers, still defending the walls of Nurnberg, are indeed his.*

Springinklee has been mentioned as Durer's assistant. He was an artist of moderate abilities, and though associated with Burgkmair in 'Der Weiss Kunig' and in some other publications coming before the public on his own feet, he is understood to have been principally occupied in super-

* This Nurnberg tradition seems to be discredited by one of Durer's own prints. In the 'Virgin by the Wall' one of these towers appears in the background as a feature in the landscape, and the print is dated 1514.

intending Durer's works. That he continued to do so after the master's death there is also reason to suppose, Madame Durer no doubt requiring aid in winding up his affairs and making money of his stock of prints. Sandrart says that Jan van Culmbach also worked for Durer. He is supposed to have been a disciple of Jacob Walsh, and, in Bartsch's opinion, was Durer's senior. It is possible that, after the death of Walsh, he may have assisted Durer, though it is difficult to say in what capacity, as the touch and manner of Durer, so distinct and well known, assure us that no hand but his own was employed on his copper-plates.

The mention of these men suggests that some notice should be taken of the pupils of Durer. But here we encounter the greatest difficulty, in determining which of the group of skilful engravers and inventive artists then rising in Nurnberg were actually his pupils studying in his atelier, and which were only inspired by his presence and works. I am inclined to think they must all have been more or less in personal contact with him, and that they must have associated together when young men, emulating each other, and doing their earlier works in the light of friendship.

In Leyden we find no such school spring up round Lucas, who was, as a skilful manipulator, second only to Durer; nor do we find Jacob Walsh had any following whatever.

Lucas, however, was after Durer: the impression was made and the way shown by the Nurnberg master in the representation of textures and variety of surface, and also in the fulness of effect, the light and shadow exemplified in the 'Adam and Eve' and 'Knight and Death.' These qualities had not been attempted to any extent by Schöngauer, and, as for Marc' Antonio and all the Italian school, form and roundness were only valued. These secondary beauties essential to romantic, and now to all modern art, were peculiarly studied in the school of Nurnberg.

The term 'Little Masters' is, correctly speaking, limited to the Nurnberg set, and comprises only these seven:—

| | Born. | Died. |
|---|---|---|
| A. Altdorfer . . . . . | 1488 | 1540 |
| H. Aldegrever . . . . . | 1502 | 1555–65 |
| Bartel Beham . . . . . | 1504 | 1540 |
| H. Sebald Beham . . . . | 1500 | 1550 |
| George Pensz . . . . . | 1500 | 1555 |
| Jacob Bink . . . . . | — | — |
| Hans Brosamer . . . . | — | — |

All of them born in Nurnberg, or repairing thither to pursue their art for a time, then leaving for various countries. I think it is not too much to suppose the presence of the Master the reason for this extraordinary gathering of talent. We see the subjects treated have a common character, and in many instances are traceable to the Durer influence, although that of Burgkmair also is

apparent. The last on the list, Hans Brosamer, was a native of Fulda, and possibly died there; while Altdorfer is understood to have derived his name from his native place Altdorf, on the S. Gothard route. Aldegrever was a Westphalian, and of him we may say with certainty that he was Durer's pupil. The works of this artist are such as show him to have been a man of quite extraordinary powers, not a 'Little' but a 'great master,' realising Bible histories like a poet. How curious is the contrast between the German treatment, wherein the characters of the Old and New Testaments are treated in the garb and according to the manners of the day in Nurnberg, and the Italian, where the semi-classic loose drapery and generalised ideal separates the characters represented from our sympathy! In some of Aldegrever's series of designs, as in that illustrating the story of Amnon and Tamar in the Book of Kings, he has given the figures a preposterous altitude, which suggests an application of Durer's scale of Proportion in some of the diagrams in his book. Aldegrever's 'Marriage Groups' also exhibit this absurd length of figure, and as these are exceptional in the practice of the artist, I think we may fairly conclude his respect for his former teacher had made him adopt the idea. Altdorfer is also said to have been in Durer's studio, but his style is not so closely resembling Durer's as to support this supposition; and he has been said to have been the pupil

of old Holbein. The woodcuts done by Altdorfer have a style so peculiar and distinct from any other engravings on wood, that they have suggested the likelihood of his having cut them with his own hand, an exception to the rule.

Next in invention and power of hand to Henry Aldegrever is H. Sebald Beham, who is said to have learned engraving from Bartel, who was however his junior; and also to have studied under Durer. Certainly Sebald's manner is more resembling Durer's than that of any other of these little masters, even Aldegrever. George Pensz was, by all accounts, a pupil of Durer, and on leaving Nurnberg repaired to Italy, attracted by the celebrity of Raphael and Marc' Antonio. There can be no doubt that he assisted in engraving some of the finest works attributed to the hand of Marc' Antonio. Passavant considers the 'Massacre of the Innocents' (the plate with the *chicot*) to be the work of Pensz. The early death of Raphael must have broken up the school of engraving in Rome; Pensz, however, did the large plate of the attack on the Goletta after Julio Romano, and other works on his own account.

Bartel Beham and Jacob Bink both followed the same attraction. What came of Bartel is now quite uncertain, but Bink returned to Germany and resided at Cologne, showing a decided Italian influence in his drawing and design, leading the way to that furor for Roman art and Michael Angelo's manner which Goltzius, himself so skilful in design, carried into fantastic mannerism.

All these men differed from Marc' Antonio and his Italian companions in an essential particular. The Italians were exclusively copyists, the Germans were *inventors*, and so artists in a much higher sense. No one of the great early period of engraving in Germany could have been much assisted, because they all worked out their ideas, as a painter does. It is true Marc' Antonio was very great in drawing, and his prints have the singular interest of preserving to us sketches and inventions by Raphael; but otherwise he is undistinguishable from his assistants, and doubtless availed himself of hired aid from various hands without much detriment to the quality of his work. His prints have little charm of texture, or of curious manipulation. What Raphael required was not executive delicacy (Marc' Antonio's works done entirely by himself had this to a singular degree, but they soon degenerated into a coarser and stronger manner) but perfect drawing, and this he would try to ensure by supervision.

To return to Durer. There is a letter to the Council written at this time, a year or two before his death, which ought to be here inserted. It is addressed to the

'Honourable, wise, and gracious gentlemen,'

'By my works and with the help of God, during these past years, I have acquired the sum of 1000 florins of the Rhine, which I wish to place at interest. As I know that

you have not the custom of paying very high interest, and that you have refused to give one florin in twenty, I have hesitated to ask your services in my affairs. However, I have come to the resolution to do so, seeing you have always treated me with particular favour in all circumstances.

'Your worships know well that I have devoted myself to the services of the Council, in all affairs, public and particular, in which I could be useful. In our city, in matters of my own Art, I have worked more frequently for nothing than for money. During thirty years I have lived in the place I can say, with truth, the works with which I have been charged have not amounted to 500 guldens, an inconsiderable sum, of which I have really not received above a fifth part.

'I have gained my fortune, or, I may say, my poverty, with great application, God knows, among princes, lords, and other personages out of Nurnberg. I live in Nurnberg, indeed, as if a stranger. Your worships also remember that the Kaiser Max (Maxili) of glorious memory, made me exempt from the city dues of his own thought, in gratitude for my loyal services rendered to him, but that I waved the privilege, following the advice of some of the elders of your council. I did so to preserve your goodwill, and in the honour of my masters your worships.

'Nineteen years ago the Doge of Venice wrote to me offering me 200 ducats a year, if I would live in that city. More lately, the Council of Antwerp, while I remained in the Low Countries, also made me an offer: 300 florins of Philippe a year and a fair mansion to live in. In the one city as in the other, anything I did was paid at once.

'I refused these offers out of love and inclination for my country, for our city, and for your worships. I have preferred to live very simply here, to riches and power abroad.

'I pray you then take all these things into consideration, and accept my 1000 florins, which I shall be better pleased to place in your hands than elsewhere; and give me as a favour fifty florins of interest annually, for myself and my wife, both of us being day by day feebler and infirm.

'I shall recognise in your doing so, the regard your wisdoms bear to me, and shall continue to try to merit it.

'Your worships' very devoted fellow-burgher,

'ALBRECHT DURER.'

The offer made by the Doge of Venice, no doubt on account of his mastery in the new art of engraving, must have been made when his fortunes were at their lowest in 1506; the more liberal offer of Antwerp, of 300 florins and a fair house, a noble income indeed at that time, in 1521 during his stay there. These were unable to tempt

him; we may therefore reasonably conclude his prospects in the one case and his actual income in the other must have been good. There is no reason to suppose that Durer, at any time after his return from Venice, was other than prosperous. Writing to Heller of Frankfort, for whom he painted an Ascension of the Virgin in 1509, he says, 'I mean now to fall back upon my engravings; had I done so sooner I should have been richer at this moment some 1000 florins.' He did so, and in a few years possessed a fund in the annual increasing sale of his printed works.

The engravings we can certainly attribute to this his latest period are principally portraits. Erasmus, Melanchthon, Albert of Maintz, Frederick of Saxony, Pirkheimer, and also some of the figures of Apostles. But the earnestness in matters of religion seems to have now grown upon him, as the struggle of the Reformation increased.

From his earliest day, when he copied from Martin Schön the 'Holy Family with the Butterfly,' he had devoted his art to the service of the B. Virgin Mary. Every year or so he produced a new 'Marienbildt,' till we find fourteen groups of the 'Virgin and Child' among his finest copper engravings, and thirteen among his woodcuts, (doubtful, however, some of these last,) besides the noble series of the 'Life of the Virgin' from the apocryphal gospels. Now there was a change; she was no more the ludi-

crous heathenism, 'the Mother of God,' but the Christian idea, the Mother of the Body of Christ. We find him doing no more Marienbilds, but Apostles. It is to be regretted he did not finish the series of the Twelve in engraving; his finest painted works were the two Apostles' pictures now done.

Nurnberg was becoming frightfully heretical; Lazarus Spengler, Durer's friend, 'the satirical clerk,' was excommunicated by special bull, and we do not hear with any bad result; even Pirkheimer was carried away for a time. Melanchthon came to reside in Nurnberg. The favour of Charles V., as has been said, never came to Durer; it may have been that Nurnberg itself and all its belongings did not please the semi-Spanish youth, or it may have been simply by the accident of his residing elsewhere. But it did not matter happily to the master now. He began to paint in a nobler and larger manner, and could afford to present his works to the Rathhaus. The two large panels, representing SS. Peter and John, and SS. Mark and Paul, the size of life, were painted in 1526,* this date appearing on them. They are grave and powerful, worthy of the culmination of our German hero; among the grandest Apostles ever painted.

On bequeathing these to the city of Nurnberg, he

* The sketches of these Apostles at Vienna, which closely resemble the pictures, are dated 1523.

affixed an inscription containing a warning to all Christian kings and rulers, not to add to or take from the blessed Word, nor yet to mistake for God's decrees man's wisdom. That his inspection of the painters of the Netherlands influenced him in this change, perceivable in the breadth and strength of these pictures, there can be no doubt. Kugler says, the Virgin in the Belvedere in Vienna, a half figure in a furred mantle, the naked Child having a string of amber beads round its neck, bears a striking resemblance to the art of the Low Countries. It is dated 1520, and he thinks may have been done during his journey. These two large pictures of Apostles were preserved long in the Rathhaus, but were carried away at last, and may now be seen in Munich.

The oil painting of the 'Triumphal Car' of Kaiser Max, on the wall of the large room in the Rathhaus, the same as the engraved design, is now but faintly seen along the wall. It is conjectured this was not from his own hand, but by his pupils, and yet it may be part of the work referred to in the letter already given, or that which follows, on the presentation of his large picture of Adam and Eve.

'Gracious and wise gentlemen, well-beloved,

'I have long wished to bring my unworthy picture before your worshipful remembrance, and have been delayed by

many little labours necessary to be attended to. Still I may say that I have not allowed the same to stand quite still.

'But in a former time I painted a picture upon which I bestowed extraordinary pains, and I believe I have no worthier. I therefore send you the same, laying it before your worships, and begging, with humble earnestness, you will graciously accept it as a gift, seeing I have always found you to be my loving friends. I shall continue with all humbleness to serve you diligently.

'I am humbly your worships'

'ALBRECHT DURER.'

This picture the ungrateful Council, at a subsequent time, gave the Emperor, then forming his gallery at Prague, whence it was at a later time carried to Vienna, but again returned to Prague, where it remains. On giving away the gift of their most illustrious townsman, those pigheaded 'worships' thought a copy would do for them, and this bad copy was carried to Paris as a treasure in 1796 by the victorious French! The savants soon saw, however, that they had got hold of the wrong thing, and it was never hung in the Louvre, but sent to the Departmental Museum, Mayence, where it remains.

'At this time Durer and Melanchthon were on intimate terms, and it is interesting to find the change we have indicated in Durer's painting recorded by that illustrious

man in one of his letters.* 'I remember,' he says, 'that Albert Durer the painter, a man excelling in talent as in virtue, used to say, that when a youth he liked bright and varied composition, and that he could not choose but rejoice in his own works when he saw them again. But that, after he attained to mature years, and could see better, and more truly understood the significance of the face of nature, he knew that simplicity was the greatest glory of art. However, as he could not altogether attain to that simplicity, he said he no longer admired his own works as he formerly did, but rather groaned and lamented over his early pictures, thinking of his own weakness.'

The strange and unaccountable circumstance in this change is, that it did not take place in his early prime, on his visit to Venice, when he saw the works of the old Gian Bellini and the young Titian and Giorgione, but in his advanced years, on seeing the art of Belgium!

* Epistolæ Ph. Melanchthonis, ep. xlii. p. 42.

# Chapter XII.

*DURER'S SCIENTIFIC TREATISES.—HIS DEATH, 1528.*

THE poetic inventions of Durer belonged to his middle life; his later years were troubled by the study of mechanical sciences, and by the agitations of controversial religion. It was the spirit of the time and locality. Luther, who was twelve years younger than Durer, had a present of a clock sent him by an abbé of Nurnberg, a clock of the newest invention (perhaps one of the 'Nurnberg Eggs' of Peter Henleim), and the lion-hearted disputant, who had never seen the like, entertained for a time a vivid idea of earning his bread by clockmaking. This was in 1527. Nurnberg was one of the twenty-nine imperial free towns represented at Augsburg, and subscribing the famous 'Confession,' and the Diet afterwards held at Worms was first proposed for Nurnberg, but in consequence of an epidemic prevailing there the place of meeting was changed. This was during Albert's visit to the Low Countries, and of course just before his penning the eloquent address to Erasmus in

his 'Journal.' 'Ego peperi ovum, Lutherus exclusit.' 'Ego posui ovum, gallinaceum Lutherus exclusit pullum longe dissimillimum.'* 'I laid the egg that Luther hatched into a very different kind of bird!' says Erasmus. It is clear that the philosopher, in his conversation with Durer, must have impressed him as a reformer worthy of succeeding the stronger and less scrupulous Luther.

There remains to say a few words of his scientific treatises before we close. The first of these was the Geometry in four books or parts, and this was published in small folio in Nurnberg in 1525. It was written in German, and is mainly 'Directions for measuring by circle and right line, superficial or solid bodies.' On the front was printed an address, 'To my dearly belôved master and friend, Wilibolden Pirckheymer.'

It will not be necessary in speaking of this, or of the treatises that followed, to enter into any lengthy description or analysis. Like the shorter and less systematic writings of Leonardo da Vinci, they are superseded by other works, and these again by later. The Geometry has little to do with Euclid and exact theorems, but busies itself in geometric applications by instruments to practical purposes of trades and mysteries. The volute, the winding stair, even the constructing of Roman letters by rule, is elaborately described. The last book is occupied

* Epistolæ, lib. xx. ep. 24.

by perspective, Durer being much given to elucidation by means of mechanical contrivances. Among his models still existing, and lately sold as part of the valuable collection of M. Posonyi of Vienna, now belonging to M. Hulot of Paris, are, a small lay-figure then uncommon,* and a gun carriage (*ponton*) made of wood garnished with iron, curiously well done and exhibiting improvements advocated by Durer. Accordingly Perspective is taught in the treatise by means of a contrivance. A frame occupied by glass, in front of which is a fixed point of sight, stands opposite the object to be drawn. The observer, placing his eye at the fixed point of sight, delineates the object on the glass *as he sees it*. In the first and best edition are four designs showing this operation; in one a woman is the model, in another a vase, in a third a man sitting, and in the fourth a lute. The *foreshortened* picture of this last is seen on the opened glass. The first engravings of these prints are dated 1525.

Editions of this book are numerous: it was quickly translated into Latin, and published in Paris by C. Wechel (Lutetiæ, apud Christianum Wechelum) in 1532. Reprinted there in 1535. The second German edition was printed in Nurnberg (durch Hieronymum Formschneyder),

* Mr. Posonyi describes this in his catalogue as being a remarkable likeness in the face to Madame Durer!

1533. Then again at Arnheim, bei Johan Janssen, 1603; and again at Arnheim in Latin, 1605.

The second treatise Durer published was on Fortification. 'Some Statements how to Fortify Town, Castle, or other Place,' published at 'Nurnberg, from the birth of Christ 1527, in the month of October.' This is a short essay, well illustrated in the first edition with the picture of a great cannon at the end, and also a long print of a siege, curious and interesting. The second edition is in Latin, by Wechel, in Paris, 1535. The third is by Janssen at Arnheim, in German, 1603. It was lately printed again in Berlin, 1823, with fourteen lithographic prints. In reprinting the Geometry, Wechel styles Durer 'Painter and Geometrician;' and on the Fortification, 'Painter and Architect.'

The third treatise, and by far the most elaborate, occupied Durer up to the hour of his death, and was then left ready for the press, but unpublished. It is 'The Four Books of Human Proportion,' printed in Durer's German in the year of his death, 1528. It contains 132 folios, about the half of these being outline diagrams of male and female figures. At the end appears the 'Privilegium von Kaiser Karl V., granted to Agnes the widow of Durer, on August 14, for ten years.' The second edition is in Latin, in Nurnberg also, 1532, by Jeronimo the wood-engraver (Hieronymum Formschneider), 'at the expense of the

widow Durer. The third is at Paris, in Latin, by Christian Wechel, 1537; and the fourth is also in Latin, at Paris, by Charles Perier. The fifth is by the same publisher in French, 1557; the sixth in Italian at Venice, by Domenico Nicolini, 1591. Since that time several editions, in different languages, have appeared, which it may be unnecessary to particularise. . .

This work on Human Proportion is to me a riddle, inasmuch as I can perceive no motive in the elaborate scales of relative sizes, reiterated without end. Here we have male and female figures, six, seven, eight, and nine head-lengths high, stout ones called *rustics* interspersed, and every new figure has the same elaborate but apparently arbitrary divisions according to scale. In some of the early copies these figures are nicely tinted flesh colour.

It is clear that the principle, if such exists *à priori*, on which these proportions are built, might be announced once for all, and the application left to the artist or reader. But no artist ever yet resorted to such means in drawing and it is scarcely possible that a true artist could. Aldegrever, as we have hinted, had been attracted by the tall figures to imitate them in his designs; but this is a different thing; having determined to make his figures so tall, he drew them doubtless by the eye. Scientific processes are antipathetic to the artist; he arrives at the end of science, but he ignores the means, the wheels

and cranks, to convey him there: he arrives as the bird flies, and, when the scientific guide comes labouring in, he finds his restive pupil there before him at his ease. Such is my impression; there may be quite another view of the matter, more discriminating; and there is little doubt, much that had an aspect of revelation as to the beauty of proportionable limbs and body would be at first recognised in the book, especially where the antique was unknown. Let us hope it pleasantly employed the evening, the early evening, of the day of our noble Albert.

Here are two more fragments of writing showing his anxiety to leave Agnes rich, which he appears by Pirkheimer's testimony to have done. The first is a quittance to the Council of the city a few months before his death.

'I, Albrecht Dürer, burgher of Nurnberg, acknowledge herewith openly, for myself and my heirs on the one hand, and the wise Burgomaster and Councillors on the other: The 100 Rhenish florins, that formerly the highly extolled Kaiser Max provided for me, and which has been furnished by the state of Nurnberg, falling at this present S. Martinmas day this year, willingly has been paid. Esteemed Burgomaster, Councillors, and your successors, that such 100 guldens and all money due to me up to this time has been paid, I hereby testify, and for that purpose set my seal at the end of this my writing. Given the twelfth day of November, 1527.

'Albrecht Durer.'

The other is a memorandum. '*Item:* Regarding the belongings I have amassed by my own handiwork. I have not had a great chance to become rich, and have had plenty of losses; having lent without being repaid, and my workpeople have not reckoned with me; also my agent at Rome died, after using up my property. Half of this loss was thirteen years ago, and I have blamed myself for debts (losses?) contracted in Venice. Still we have good house furnishing, clothing, costly things as earthenware, professional fittings-up (possibly printing presses), bed furnishings, chests, and cabinets; and my stock of colours is worth 100 guldens.'

It must be remembered that this was about the time when inventories in England were still made out at the demise of nobles of a few pewter plates, glasses, towels, and silver cups, and when the testament contained the bequest of the 'best bed' and the 'napery;' and seventy years before the time when Shakspeare purchased Sir Hugh Clopton's mansion of New Place for 'L. 60.' According to Pirkheimer's authority Durer left over 6000 florins, a very large fortune, to Agnes, who continued to reside in the house, and no doubt found the engravings a continuous source of additional wealth. That the great painter died in a kind of odour of sanctity, and deeply regretted, we have ample testimony.

'Shall I weep for the death of Albert Durer?' writes

Erasmus, at Basle: 'to what good, seeing we are all mortal? I have made an epitaphium in my little book for him.'

'I have lost in Albert the best friend I have had in my life,' writes Pirkheimer to Tcherte in Vienna, the architect to Charles V. 'His death has been to me the most painful trial, and the more so that I believe he need not have died!' Then follow very serious accusations against poor Agnes, which we shall not quote.*

Durer died on April 6, 1528, at the age of 57, and was buried in the cemetery of S. John, but a short way out from the Thiergärtner Gate, over the road by which Adam Kraft's Stations had just shortly before been placed, at regular intervals, from 'Pilate's House' (rich old Koetzel's mansion opposite Durer's) to the churchyard gate where the Calvary stands.

These Stations on this Dolorous Way still stand in their original beauty; and that Calvary with the Divine Man on his Cross still rises against the sky, the type and exemplar of all good men who have suffered, who have fought a good fight, who have used well the talents given to them, who have left the world better for their lives. Since

* This letter is a long one, and very interesting about many things then transpiring. In another part of it he reverts to 'our Albert,' and says he left many beautiful watches and things, and one in particular he wanted, but Agnes removed it beyond his reach. I am afraid Pirkheimer was not unbiassed in his denunciation of Agnes.

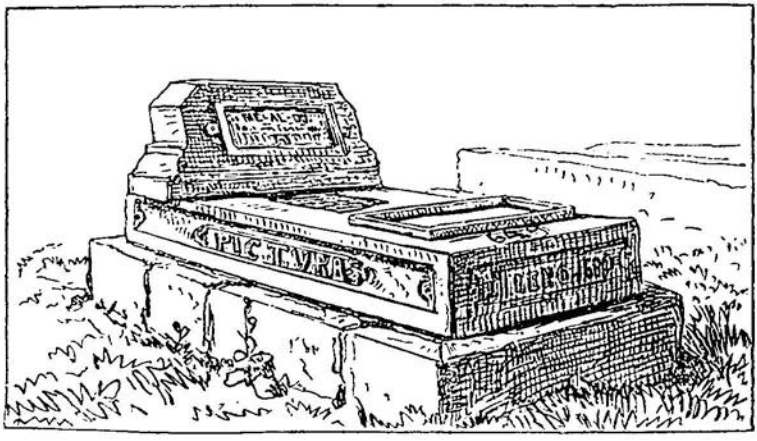
Albert was carried past, how many generations of the notables of Nurnberg have been carried past these sad painful sculptures. Now the *God's-acre* is fully paved! You enter and have not long to seek before you discover the solid stone that marks the grave of the greatest of German artists. Many of the worthies of that time lie about, but here is the worthiest.

The patrician Nurnberg graves are, for the most part, solid blocks of stone with a bronze plaque let in, bearing the heraldry and name. Durer's is of this kind, and the inscription was written by Pirkheimer, who survived him scarcely two years.

ME. AL. DU.
QUIDQUID ALBERTI DURERI MORTALE
FUIT SUB HOC CONDITUR TUMULO.
EMIGRAVIT
VIII IDUS APRILIS,
MDXXVIII.

When Sandrart the skilful engraver and diligent historian of German painters came to Nurnberg, a century and a half after the death of the master, he was grieved to find this monument a ruin, and he was the means of getting it re-edified and increased in importance in 1681. On the new portion he added two inscriptions of his own, one in Latin the other in German, which latter I have paraphrased thus :—

Rest here, thou Prince of Painters! thou who wast better than great,
In many arts unequalled in the old time or the late.
Earth thou didst paint and garnish, and now, in thy new abode,
Thou paintest the holy things overhead in the city of God.
And we, as our patron saint, look up to thee ever will,
And crown with a laurel crown the dust left here with us still.



# APPENDIX,

CONTAINING CATALOGUES OF

COPPER ENGRAVINGS (WITH COPIES).

WOOD ENGRAVINGS (WITH COPIES).

PAINTINGS.

SKETCHES AND DRAWINGS.

# I.

## CATALOGUE OF DURER'S ENGRAVINGS ON COPPER, AND ETCHINGS,

### WITH ENUMERATION OF COPIES.

(*The initial numbers are Heller's; those of Bartsch* (*B*) *are added.*)

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### *Old Testament.*

1. *Adam and Eve.*—Dated 1504, Durer's thirty-third year, one of his earliest dated engravings on copper, and one of his most perfect. Nothing previously done in the new art had the same perfection in the use of the graver, and the influence of this print on contemporary and subsequent engravers cannot be over-rated. There was also a greater purity in the form, and an emancipation from archaic peculiarities new to German art. In the British Museum are several studies for these figures: similar studies exist in Vienna and elsewhere. There were two unfinished proofs of this plate sold in Paris, some time ago, for 1500 francs.

*Copies.*—(1) By John Wierix, whose name appears on the tablet hanging from the tree, and the date 1568 on the corner. A very good imitation, and surprising if done by John Wierix at the age of 16, as stated on the tablet (Æt. 16) after his name. (2) By John van Goosen, 'Johannes van ——' being inscribed on the tablet after Durer's name. (3) Without the tablet, a poor engraving with a death's head on the ground. Dutch and Latin

inscriptions. (4) A small copy. (5) Copy by Marc' Antonio reversed. (6) Another Italian copy, also reversed, supposed by Augustino Veneziano. (7) Another Italian copy, by Antonio of Brescia. Several modern reproductions, generally small. B. 1.

### *New Testament.*

2. *The Birth of Christ.*—The Virgin, with her hands in the attitude of adoration, looks down on the Holy Child lying before her. A shepherd kneels in the dark interior behind her; Joseph draws water from a draw-well. The figures are very small, and the picture is principally the half-timber house and ruinous gateway behind. Dated 1504.

*Copies.*—(1) Very beautiful imitation by Wierix, done at the age of 16 like the last, if indeed we can believe the inscription, I.H.W. Æ. 16, 1566. (2) By Adrian Huber, 1514, inscribed. (3) Without Durer's tablet, as in the original. (4) With the tablet, which bears the date 1557, and V.C. in cipher. (5) By Jerome Hopfer. (6) Reversed, by Paul Göttrich. (7) Reversed, by Benedict Montagna. (8) Reversed, by Zelman von Wesel. (9) A very good copy of an early date, also reversed, but without name. (10) Another reversed copy. (11) By Balthazar Janischen, also reversed. B. 2.

### *The Passion, in Sixteen Designs.*

3. *Ecce Homo. The Virgin and S. John Looking sadly at the Suffering Christ.*—The three figures are treated abstractly from any incident in the historical narrative. Dated 1509. B. 3.

4. *Christ on the Mount of Olives.* 1508. B. 4.

5. *The Kiss of Judas.* 1508. B. 5.

6. *Christ before Caiaphas.* 1512. B. 6.

7. *Christ before Pilate.* 1512. B. 7.

8. *The Scourging.* 1512. B. 8.
9. *The Crowning with Thorns.* 1512. B. 9.
10. *Christ Presented to the People (Ecce Homo).* 1512. B. 10.
11. *Pilate Washing his Hands.* 1512. B. 11.
12. *Bearing the Cross.* 1512. B. 12.
13. *Our Lord on the Cross.* 1511. B. 13.
14. *Christ Freeing Souls from Hades.* 1512. B. 14.
15. *The Descent from the Cross.* 1507. B. 15.
16. *The Entombment.* 1512. B. 16.
17. *The Resurrection.* 1512. B. 17.
18. *SS. Peter and John Healing the Cripple.* 1513. B. 18.

*Copies.*—All these sixteen beautiful miniature prints have been reproduced many times, from the very year of their publication; the greatest favourites, as Christ before Pilate, no less than twenty times. Some of these copies, those done in sets expressly to counterfeit the originals in the market, are difficult to distinguish from Durer's work without considerable experience. It would be an unnecessary task to append to each of the 16 prints a list of all the copies. The following are those of the complete set: (1) By Lambert Hopfer, with Durer's monogram, and also L. H. (2) By an unknown engraver. (3) By Wilhelm de Haen, with his name and date, 1611. (4) By Van Goosens, with name Jo. Goo. scp. (5) By I. V. C. (J. C. Vischer) with these initials. (6) By Marc' Antonio, with the tablet of Durer, but without his monogram. (7) Set of woodcuts, with the mark of Virgil Solis. Marc Sadeler engraved many of the series; and Aldegrever, who may have been Durer's pupil or apprentice at the time of its execution (1511), engraved a copy of Our Lord on the Cross, embellished with texts from Isaiah and the Gospel of John.

This 'Passion on Copper,' as the set of 16 small prints is usually called, must be considered equal to the best work of Durer, and among the most extraordinary feats of the art of engraving: the

curiousness of execution, the power of hand in minutiæ combined with the dramatic reality and terrible truthfulness of Durer's nature, can never be reproduced, emulated, or supplanted.

Thirty-seven pages of Heller's 'Leben und Werke' are occupied with these plates of the Passion.

19. *Christ on the Mount of Olives*, 1515.—This is one of Durer's etchings, or, as they have been called, his 'iron-plates.' B. 19.

20. *Christ Dying on the Cross*, 1508.—The holy women at the foot of the cross and S. John on the right, with stretched-out hands. A small plate. *Copies.*—(1) On wood. Supposed by Hans Schauflein. (2) A deceptive copy on copper, by unknown hand. (3) A copy with the letters ꝺ. C. and date 1562. (4) Wierix's copy, which is reversed, and three other copies, all reversed. B. 24.

21. *The Little Crucifix.* A circular miniature, little more than an inch and a half diameter. The Maries and S. John are on either side of the dying Saviour. Will, in his 'Münzbelustigung' (iv. s. 406), says this was done by Durer for the pommel of the sword of Kaiser Max, and that it was brought to Vienna from the Cabinet of the Elector Ferdinand at Ambrass, by Insbruck. In the inventory of the Vienna collection by Aloys Primisser (Vienna, 1819), Heller regrets to find no remarks on the subject. It has been said by some collectors to have been engraved not for the sword, but for the hat of the Emperor. We know he wore an immense hat, ornamented in Durer's large woodcut with a figure of the Virgin, and this Crucifix may have been for the medallion or pendant called by the French *enseigne*, then fashionable. This is very rare, and has been several times copied. (1) That by Jerome Wierix is deceptive and perfect. (2) Another very similar, and a (3) also, and a fourth. There are, also, four reversed copies, one of them by Anthony Wierix. B. 23.

22. *Christ with his Hands bound*, 1512.—On his right shoulder

a mantle is cast, the left arm and breast uncovered. An etching, or drypoint ('iron plate'). The copies are all reversed. B. 21.

23. *Christ Showing his Five Wounds.*—A small plate representing Christ naked by the cross. On the ground lie his clothes, with the dice, sponge, &c. and a skull. *Copies.*—(1) By J. Wierix at the age of twelve: very exact. (2) A copy with B. M. (Benedict Montagna) on the tablet. (3) Another copy, which may be recognised by the D on the tablet being reversed. (4) By Prestel. Besides these there are four reversed copies. B. 20.

24. *Christ Seated*, 1515.—The crown of thorns is on the head, and, with his right hand, the Saviour holds the scourge and reed. Etching, or rather drypoint. A pewter plate (?). *Copies.*—Two like the original, but easily recognisable, and two reversed. B. 22.

25. *S. Veronica*, 1510.—A small plate of three inches high, showing the imaginary saint holding the cloth with its 'true image' of our Lord's face. Copied on wood. B. 64.

26. *An Angel Flying with the Cloth exhibiting the Veronica*, 1516.—An etching ('iron plate'). Below are four angels, who hold the implements of the crucifixion. B. 26.

27. *Two Flying Angels displaying the Holy Cloth with the Image of our Lord's Face.*—Very fine. 1513. This beautiful work has been copied many times, but always reversed. There are nine well known; one has 'A.D. 1625, fecit Cracoviæ. Ætatis suæ 66,' inscribed on it. Another is by one of the Wierix family. B. 25.

28. *The Prodigal Son.*—One of Durer's larger engravings. The Prodigal has reached the last stage of degradation, and is kneeling by the trough from which the swine are feeding, on his bare knees. This print has no date, but all the critics are agreed that it was one of his early works, before 1500; and Mr. H. F. Holt discovers that the artist has humbly identified himself with his subject by studying the head of the young man from himself. The original sketch, which is in the British Museum, however, is much less like the master than the finished engraving. *Copies.*

—(1) One so deceptive that it is with difficulty distinguished from the master's own. (2) Another, also intended to be deceptive, almost as good. Also three reversed copies, one of them supposed to be by Marc' Antonio. B. 28.

29. *The Virgin and Anna.*—This is an early work, of small size but important. The full figures are seen; Mary, who holds the Child on her left arm, is the back view. Anna is on the left side of the print. The copies are all reversed. B. 29.

30. *Mary on the Half Moon, without Crown.*—An early work without date. The Holy Child is sitting on her right arm. Her hair flows behind her. *Copies.*—(1) By Hans Schauflein, with his monogram. (2) Another by him on the back of the title of a sermon by Luther. (3) One on copper with the sign G. Four other copies, besides eight reversed, making fifteen in all; this and all the other 'Marienbilds' that follow having been very great favourites at the time and afterwards. B. 30.

31. *Mary on the Half Moon, without Crown*, but with date, 1514.—She looks to the right. The Holy Child in her arms holds a fruit (apple or pear) in his hand. This excellent print is called by Bartsch, the 'Virgin with the Short Hair.' *Copies.*—(1) By Jerome Hopfer. (2) By an unknown. (3) Reversed copy by J. C. Vischer. (4) Another reversed, by L. Guidotti, and seven others; all reversed. B. 33.

32. *Mary on the Half Moon with the Crown of Stars*, 1508.—The B. Virgin supports the Infant Christ with her left arm, her long hair waves out behind her shoulders. *Copies.*—(1) By John Wierix, very perfect and deceptive. (2) With the letters I. H. V. F. (3) By Wilhelm de Haen, very well done. (3) By Jerome Hopfer: reversed. Four others, all reversed. B. 31.

33. *Mary on the Half Moon, with the Crown of Stars and Sceptre*, 1516.—The child is on her left arm, and she holds a sceptre in her right hand: long hair. *Copies.*—(1) By Jerome Hopfer. (2) With the date altered 1564, instead of 1516. (3) With the

monogram AH instead of AD. (4) Without date and monogram. (5) By Jacob Bink, marked IcB. (6) Marked 1579, A.M. Four reversed copies: ten altogether. B. 32.

34. *Mary Crowned by an Angel*, 1520.—She sits on a cushion placed on a bank. The Holy Child in her arms has a bird in his right hand. *Copies.*—(1) That by Wierix, difficult to distinguish from the master. All the other eight copies, one of them by Jacob Bink, are reversed. B. 37.

35. *Mary crowned by Two Angels*, 1518.—The Virgin sits looking to the right, a beautiful head slightly inclined, with a crown of roses. The Holy Child in her lap has a fruit in his right hand. This is a very excellent work. (1) A very exact and deceptive copy: all the rest are reversed. (2) A beautiful reversed copy. (3) Marked *P. Ouer. ex.* (4) Another of the year 1538. (5) By Wierix. (6) By Jacob Bink, marked IcB. (7) Marked $\frac{1596}{M.V.G.}$ There are nine others, some signed. B. 39.

36. *The Nursing Mary*, 1503.—The Holy Child is held by the right hand to the left breast. The tablet, with the year 1503, hangs behind her on a twig. *Copies.*—(1) By Wierix; published, as some of the others by Wierix are, by Vischer, and having the monogram ✠. (2) Very early copy: marked 1506. (3) One marked L. but not by Lucas of Leyden. (4) Marked P. Querrat excu. This is reversed, as are all the others, seven in number. B. 34.

37. *The Nursing Mary*, 1519.—In this print also the child is held to the left breast. The Virgin sits on a bank. The initials and date, which are on the left, doubtfully rendered in the figure 9, which is sometimes catalogued as 2 (1512). *Copies.*—(1) By Wierix, marked on the left Æ. 12, and on the right, 1566. Published by Vischer ✠. (2) By Joh. da Brescia. (3) With M. D. on the right on the stone. (4) Another good copy; and four others reversed. B. 36.

38. *Mary with the Swaddled Child*, 1520.—She sits on a cushion placed on a great stone, and the Child is swathed somewhat in the manner still in use in Franconia. In this, as in 37, lines radiating from the Virgin's head as a centre of glory, cover the whole sky portion of the print. The Holy Child is asleep, and very admirably done. On the left is the tablet with monogram and date. This print Mr. H. F. Holt supposes to have been engraved in commemoration of Durer's visit to the Low Countries with his wife, and that the head of the Virgin is a portrait of her. *Copies.*—(1) A deceptive copy. (2) Another intended for sale as the original. (3) One by E. von Sichem, a woodcut. All the others, nine in number, are reversed, one by Wierix, another by Jacob Bink; both beautiful. B. 38.

39. *Mary Sitting under a Tree*, 1513.—She sits on a bank at the foot of a tree, turned to the left, the Holy Child sitting on her right arm, she embraces him with the left. The Child has a pear in his left hand. *Copies.*—One like the original, and nine reversed; one of these last by Hollar. 1626. B. 35.

40. *Mary by the Wall*, 1514.—A beautiful print. The Virgin holds the Child in both her arms, he having an apple in his right hand. By her side hang purse and keys, and the drapery drawn round from behind over her left knee is of singular delicacy. The town in the background is certainly Nurnberg. *Copies.*—(1) One deceptive, exceedingly well done. (2) Another, also very close in its resemblance. (3) One with the letters I. B. on a stone to the right. (4) One with a quatrain in German attached, and the name M. Kellner, 1580. Five other copies in reverse, including one by Wierix, and another by Jerome Hopfer. B. 40.

41. *Mary with the Pear*, 1511.—She sits at the foot of a great tree, in her right hand a pear, to which she appears to draw the Child's attention. Behind her is a singular city gate. On the ground lies the tablet with monogram, and on the top in centre is the date. There are six copies, three of them reversed. B. 41.

42. *Mary with the Monkey.*—No date. She sits near the side of a stream on a bank, her left hand on a book, the right holding the Child in her lap, which plays with a bird held in his right hand. The monkey sits on the ground at the left of the Virgin's feet. This is considered among Durer's best works, and has been a great favourite, no doubt on account of the monkey. In copies it is distinguished by the high character of the copyists. Wierix only, however, has copied it as it stands, and he has inscribed his plate I. H. W. Æ. 17. All the others are reversed, including those by Winceslaus of Olmütz, Marc' Antonio, Augustino Veneziano, Zoan Andrea, &c. In all fourteen copies. B. 42.

43. *The Holy Family with the Butterfly.*—A larger plate than any other of the *Marienbilds*. Supposed to be one of his very earliest works. Mary holds the Child affectionately near her face. Joseph sleeps behind the embankment on which she sits. God the Father is in the centre of the upper part of the work. This design is copied from Martin Schöngauer, reversed and enlarged, and is the only instance of Durer having copied the works of another. The Butterfly, which gives the print its name, is on the ground at the right corner. It has been copied four times in reverse, Israel von Mecken and Marc' Antonio being copyists. B. 44.

44. *The Holy Family.*—One of the etchings, or 'iron plates;' or possibly on a softer metal, done principally with dry point. Rare. Mary sits with the Child in her lap. Joseph sits on the left of the plate behind. On the other side is Elizabeth with two men. Of this there are three copies, one of them modern, in Ottley, p. 727. B. 43.

## *Saints.*

45. *S. Philip.*—He holds in his left hand the long staff with the cross. *Copies.*—(1) By Wierix, very perfect, marked I. H. W. Æ. 17. Five reversed copies, unnecessary to particularise. B. 46.

46. *S. Bartholomew*, 1523.—The knife is in his left hand, a book in his right arm. *Copies.*—(1) By Wierix, done same year as the preceding. Six reversed copies. B. 47.

47. *S. Thomas*, 1514.—In his right hand is the instrument of his martyrdom, the spear. *Copies.*—(1) Wierix, as before. Seven reversed copies. B. 48.

48. *S. Simon*, 1523.—In his right hand is the saw. *Copies* as in the preceding. B. 49.

49. *S. Paul*, 1514.—Very fine indeed. His left arm supports the open book, to which he points with his right hand. Copies as before. These five Apostles seem to have been done with a view to a complete set never accomplished; a set of the Apostles being a work apparently very popular, and done by several great engravers, as Lucas of Leyden, Marc' Antonio, Henry Goltzius, &c. B. 50.

50. *S. Anthony*, 1519.—He sits in the foreground, and reads in a book held by both hands. By him, stuck in the ground, stands a tall staff with a double cross and bell, and behind him is piled up the most charming old Rhine town, the moat occupying the left side of the picture: this is one of the most lovely and characteristic of all the engraved works of Durer; that is to say, of all his designs whose interest does not lie in the passion depicted. This was given by Ottley, and had been previously copied frequently. (1, 2) Two deceptive copies very well done; one of them can scarcely be distinguished, although the original is so fine; Wierix has not tried his hand on it. There are nine reversed copies. B. 58.

51. *S. Christopher*, 1521.—In this design the saint turns his head as if to remonstrate with the miraculous burden which weighs him down. In the right corner in the water is a stone having the monogram and the date above it. *Copies.*—There is only one deceptive copy; there are five reversed. B. 51.

52. *S. Christopher.* Same date.—Both these plates are small. In this the Holy Child lays his right arm on the saint's head, the fingers being in benediction. In the left corner of foreground is an island of grass with a stone having the date on the top, and the monogram on the front. Of this there is no deceptive copy. One in woodcut, by C. von Sichem, and five reversed, one being by Aldegrever. B. 52.

53. *S. John Chrysostom.*—The saint creeping on hands and knees towards the left, and in the middle of the composition, at the mouth of a grotto, a woman nurses a child at her breast. A castle in the distance. Three reversed copies. B. 63. This legend, and that of S. Christopher, were very favourite subjects for illustration at this time.

54. *S. Hubert, properly S. Eustachius.*—No date. The most elaborate of all Durer's plates; not more perfect in finish certainly than some others, but the largest. The five dogs in the foreground were then considered wonderful; nothing so distinctively true to nature having been seen before. They are alluded to by Vasari, and were copied as a distinct print by Virgil Solis and by Augustino Veneziano. The size of this plate is only $13\frac{3}{4}$ by $10\frac{1}{4}$, but the elaboration and the detail make it equal to a larger field. Heller calls this 'Dürers Hauptblatt.' *Copies.*—Of this work no deceptive copy has been attempted, although it has been imitated many times. (1) By Albert Schmid, inscribed 'S. Eystachius venantium et peregrinantium patronus populi' ('S. Eustace, patron of hunters and travellers'). (2) By Jerome Hopfer with his name. (3) A later copy, inscribed S. Hubertus. (4) A very correct copy in reverse, with G. H. on either side of Durer's monogram. There are three others, all reversed. B. 57.

55. *S. George on Foot.*—He stands turned towards the right, a kind of hood on his hair. His right hand holds a banner with the cross. The dead dragon lies behind his feet. On the left is the tablet with Durer's monogram, without date. A small print.

*Copies.*—(1) Early copy with monogram, resembling P.H. Seven reversed copies, more or less good. B. 53.

56. *S. George on Horseback*, 1508.—He looks to the right, and holds the small banner in his right hand. The dead dragon lies along by the horse's feet. *Copies.*—(1) By Jerome Hopfer. (2) By Christoph von Sichem. (3) By Wierix. (4) Another correct copy. Five others reversed. One of these is remarkably distinguished by an inscription identifying the saint with Franz von Sickengen, one of the leading heroes of the Reformation. 'Franciscus a Sickengen eques ac miles fortissimus,' followed by some Latin lines unnecessary to quote. The dragon in this point of view represents error, and this application of the design is interesting, as very possibly expressing, literally, what Durer left to the interpretation of the observer. B. 54.

57. *S. Jerome in his Study*, 1514.—One of the wonders of the master. The sun shines through the round lattice panes of two windows, on the left of the design. On the foreground lies the lion; beside him a curious dog. An immense melon hangs from the veined and stratified beams of the roof. The saint and all the belongings of his desk are elaborately finished. This is one of the larger prints. *Copies.*—Copyists have made a trial of skill in imitating this engraving. (1) A deceptive rendering, often sold for the original, so perfect that Heller can only point out a small difference in the nail of the little toe of the foremost left foot of the lion. (2) One by Jerome Wierix, which is also attempted to be so sold: the initials of Wierix and his astonishingly youthful age, Æ. 13, however, are engraved near the bottom edge. (3) By Marias Kartarus. (4) One with an inscription making a curious alteration in the subject:—S. V. BED. PRESBYTERE,' &c. with Latin lines, beginning—

Fœcundat scriptis arentes BEDa Britannos;
Scilicet exhaustas è cruce fundit opes.

(5) One, supposed by Marc' Antonio. (6) A reversed copy, very perfect in execution. Nine other copies reversed, are distinguished, some of them signed by their engravers. B. 60.

58. *S. Jerome.*—An etching, or 'iron-plate,' having a great amount of the blur, or 'burr,' caused by scratching with the point, as practised by Rembrandt with so much effect. The saint sits in a wild place in a storm of wind and rain. Of this there are five recognised copies mostly reversed. B. 59.

59. *S. Jerome Praying.*—One of the larger plates upright. The saint looks to the crucifix on the left side, and holds the stone, wherewith he beats his breast, in his right hand. *Copies.*—(1) Deceptive. (2) By Jerome Hopfer. (3) One reduced in size. (4) Reversed by Zoan Andreas. (5) An adaptation of the Lion and other portions with the Saint from another master. B. 61.

60. *The little Praying Jerome.*—He kneels to a crucifix which is attached to a tree, his right hand on his breast, his left outstretched with the stones. This is a very small round plate, very rare indeed; quite out of the possibility of collection. No copies. B. 62.

61. *S. Sebastian bound to a Pillar.*—Three copies reversed. B. 56.

62. *S. Sebastian bound to a Tree.*—He turns to the left, his hands crossed over his head. *Copies.*—Two right, one of them by Wierix; and three reversed. B. 55.

## *Mythology and other Subjects.*

63. *Judgment of Paris.*—Small, and, like the little S. Jerome, so rare as to be inaccessible, even for inspection, in this country. B. 65.

64. *Apollo and Diana.*—A small plate, very beautiful. Apollo bends his bow looking to the right. Diana sits on the ground, her right hand on the head of a stag. There are five copies, all reversed. B. 68.

65. *The Rape of Amymone.*—Called by Durer in his 'Journal' a 'Meerwunder.' The Triton carries her through the water; she looks towards the left sitting in a reclining attitude upon him. The background is a beautifully designed Rhine castle. *Copies.*—(1) By Winceslaus of Olmutz. (2) By George Pensz. Nine reversed copies, including one by Hans Sebald Beham, and one on wood. B. 71.

66. *Pluto carrying away Proserpine.*—An etching or 'iron-plate.' B. 72.

67. *Jealousy.*—A large plate. A satyr lies in the left corner of the design, a naked woman beside him. Another nymph approaches from behind swinging a great bough, in the act of striking them, while a satyr, or wild man, prevents the blow falling by raising his arms with a staff. Several copies, not very good. B. 73.

68. *The Satyr's Family*, 1505.—The satyr advances from the left of the design, playing on a pipe, or trumpet. A small plate. *Copies.*—(1) By Wierix, Æ. 12, 1566, published by C. Vischer. (2) By Jerome Hopfer. (3) By Prestel, reversed. (4) By Antonio da Brescia, also reversed, and two others. B. 69.

69. *The Vengeance of Justice.*—A small engraving, which has been called the 'Nemesis,' this title having never been fully appropriated to any other of Durer's works, and having been mentioned in his 'Journal.' It represents a man riding on a lion, in his right hand a sword, in his left scales. One of Durer's poorest works, not likely to be presented by him to new friends. This subject is elsewhere referred to. B. 79.

70. *The Little Fortune.*—So called for want of a truer name. A naked woman of common type, the back presented to the spectator, standing on a globe. A small plate in little more than outline. There is one very perfect copy and six reversed.* B. 78.

* As this little design bears a resemblance to the large and beautiful print usually called 'The Great Fortune,' we ought to point out one of

71. *Temperance:* usually called 'The Great Fortune,' 'Das grosse Glück,' date uncertain. A wonderful landscape, which has always been received as the village of Eytas, fills the lower part of the picture, below a fringe of cloud, in the centre of which is a small globe, supporting a large female figure, bearing a bridle and trappings in her left hand, the insignia of Temperance, and a beautiful but covered cup in her right. This is, in point of technical mastery, one of the finest engravings ever done. Studies for the wings are in the B.M., and in the possession of Mr. Alfred Morrison. On the last mentioned is the date 1518, which goes to prove it one of Durer's latest works, so that it may not have been done till after his return from Flanders. Of its allegory and significance we have spoken elsewhere. The copies, six in number, are all reversed. One of them, without a date, however, is entitled 'Opulentia.' B. 77.

72. *Melancholy*, 1514.—Another of the master's greatest achievements, spoken of in a former part of this book. This is the emblem of knowledge of a purely scientific or worldly kind, leading to 'weariness of the flesh.' *Copies.*—(1) A very fine copy, distinguishable by minute differences only. The key at the girdle of the

ORIGINAL.

COPY.

figure has been given as a test. 'Clement de Jonghe exc.' is, however, at the bottom on the right. (2) A copy, for the most

these copies as affording evidence that the subject was considered to be 'Fortune' as early as 1585, the date of the copy, the following lines being attached:

Passibus ambiguis Fortuna volubilis errat,
Illa tamen regitur omnipotente manu.

part left unfinished. (3) Admirably done by Johann Wierix, having his name and date 1602. Three reversed copies on copper, and one on wood. Modern copies are numerous. B. 74.

73. *The Dream.*—A young man sleeps on a bench by the side of a great stove, the niched tiles of which rise to the top of the left side of the picture, while a demon blows into his ear with a pair of bellows. Turning towards the sleeper, but with her back to him, a naked woman stands, and Cupid is essaying to walk on stilts by her feet. An excellently engraved work; the head of the sleeper has a very interesting character, the woman's head is that of a fool. The dream is a dream of the earthly Venus. *Copies*—all reversed, by Winceslaus Olmutz, Antonio da Brescia, Tzetter, Marc' Antonio, and others, six in number. B. 76.

74. *The Four Naked Women*, 1497.—They stand in a chamber, the one in the middle having her back to the spectator. The forms are unideal; at their feet lies a death's head, and outside an open door on the left a foul demon is listening. Above the figures hangs a ball or sphere, on which the date 1497 is inscribed, and the letters O. G. H., a puzzle for commentators.* *Copies.*—(1) By Winceslaus Olmutz. (2) Reversed, by Israel von Mecken. (3) Reversed, by IsI (4) Reversed also, by Nicolaus of Modena, whose print has been copied by another Italian artist. B. 75.

75. *The Witch.*—A wild woman rides a flying or leaping animal, her face being towards the left. She holds a distaff, and cries with open mouth. Below, on the ground, are four winged children, one of whom is about to throw a somersault. An inexplicable and unimportant small print. Three reversed copies, one by Benedict Montagna. B. 67.

* These letters have been supposed to stand for 'O Gott, Hilf!' ('O God, help!'); or 'O geliebte Hexe!' ('O sweetheart witch!').

76. *The Three Genii, or Cupids.*—Similar in size and style to the last. A child flying to the right bears a helmet, another blows a trumpet. *Copies.*—(1) By Wierix, Æ. 12, 1565. (2) A reversed copy, dated 1515. Eight other reversed copies. B. 66.

77. *The Bath.*—An etching, or 'iron-plate.' Five figures, or rather studies of figures, naked for the most part. B. 70.

78. *Gentleman and Lady Walking.*—They go towards the left; the interest is mainly in the character and costumes.* (1) An early copy, reduced to a very small size. Five other copies all reversed, three of them by the great engravers of the time, Marc' Antonio, Wenceslaus of Olmutz, Israel von Mecken. B. 94.

79. *The Love Offer.*—A middle-aged man, with a short beard, sits beside a young woman, his left hand in his purse, and the woman's extended left hand is ready to receive the money. Behind, on the right of the design, his horse is tied to a tree. This is a subject afterwards much treated by the Dutch and Flemish artists.† The attempt to identify this with certain stories from the Old Testament seems quite unnecessary. There is one copy reversed. B. 93.

80. *The Wild Man seizing a Woman.*—This is an early work, small in size, a very curious production, but not of great excellence. There is a deceptive copy. B. 92.

81. *The Bagpiper*, 1514.—Small. He leans his back against a tree on the right of the engraving. This has been a great favourite, as we see by the sixteen copies, some of them deceptive; six of them being like the original, and ten reversed. B. 91.

* On the border of the lady's dress, passing across the shoulder, are the letters NRIA, not hitherto noticed. Possibly these letters stand for Norica, as showing the costume of the ladies of Nurnberg.

† I am informed by a note from Mr. H. H. Bothamley, that there is an exact copy of the two figures in this design carved on one of the Misereres in Henry VII.'s chapel, Westminster. A very interesting and curious circumstance. It is to be observed the figures in Durer's print use their left hands as if the work had been a copy on his part.

82. *The Dancing Peasants.*—A group full of vigour and enjoyment, the sturdy little woman being as strong and frisky as a young bear. Eight copies, one of them by Wierix, Æ. 12. B. 90.

83. *The Peasant and his Wife.*—They stand looking towards the left. A small plate, like the last. *Copies.*—(1) By Jerome Wierix, I. H. W. Æ. 17, 1565. (2) One dated 1523. Seven other copies reversed. B. 83.

84. *The Peasant going to Market.*—He goes to the left, stretching out his right hand in a remonstrating manner. A study from nature. *Copies.*—(1) With Vischer's monogram as publisher. (2) A moderately good imitation. (3) Inscribed I. B. 1523. Thirteen other copies reversed, some with initials. B. 89.

85. *The Three Peasants.* They stand together in talk, grumbling it would seem. One leans on a sword with a very old scabbard; the man he addresses holds a basket of eggs in his left hand, and sticks his right into his girdle. *Copies.*—One by Wierix, and two others closely resembling. Eight reversed copies. B. 86.

86. *The Cook and the Housekeeper.*—A fat big man holding a ladle, and a pretty little woman with her arms crossed before her. They go towards the left. There is one deceptive copy, difficult to distinguish. Six reversed copies. B. 84.

87. *The Turk and his Wife.*—He is on the left, the woman on the right of the print. A little engraving like the last, an early and inferior production. There are five copies reversed. B. 85.

88. *The Standard-bearer.*—A soldier with bare head holding a banner in his right hand, with the arms of Burgundy. Small, and fine. There are two right copies and one reversed. B. 87.

89. *The Six Soldiers.*—A miscellaneous assemblage of men partially armed, several being manifest rascals, like all the hired soldiers of the time. The one on the left is not in the conversation, but looking out with his back to the group. An early work. There are four reversed copies. B. 88.

90. *The Little Courier.*—A small early work; he gallops to the

left, his right hand flourishing a whip. Three reversed copies. B. 80.

91. *The Lady on the Horse.*—Small and early. Interesting for costume. *Copies.*—(1) By Wenceslaus Olmutz. (2) By Wierix, Æ. 12. Six reversed copies, one of them by Marc' Antonio. B. 82.

92. *The smaller War-horse*, 1505.—The white heavy charger is turned to the right. Behind, the knight or free lance stands, with a fantastic helmet on his head, and a partisan over his right shoulder. *Copies.*—There are two deceptive copies, one marked at the right edge I. H. V. E.; the other by Wierix, marked I. H. W. Æ. 17. (3) Another, without Durer's monogram and date. There are five others reversed, two of them Italian. B. 96.

93. *The larger War-Horse*, 1505.—A foot soldier, holding a halbert, and with a helmet on his head, steps towards the left. The great white horse stands. *Copies.*—(1) A deceptive one, and (2) one by Wierix, the date 1564 being in place of Durer's date, and on the wall is also Æ. 15. (3) By Antony of Brescia. B. 97.

94. *The Knight, with Death and the Devil*, 1513.—This has been called the most perfect artistic invention Germany has produced. We are convinced it is a damnatory epitaph on the private right of plunder: the free lance and robber knight, up to that time, infested and vexed Upper Germany and the Rhine. There is a sketch of an armed rider exactly resembling the knight in our subject, in the collection of the Archduke Albert, Vienna. On the top is written in Durer's hand, 'Das ist die Rüstung zu der Zeit, in Deutschland gewist' ('This is the armour of the time, in Germany to wit'). This sketch is dated 1498. There is (1) an admirable copy, which may be known by the absence of the date 1513 on the tablet. (2) By Wierix, at the age of 15. (3) A reversed copy, marked H. R. 1559. B. 98.

95. *The Cannon*, 1518.—A landscape, with a great cannon and two figures; waggoners they have been called. This is the best of the so-called 'iron-plates,' and has excellent character. Even here, however, it is evident Durer could not direct or manage the process of corrosion by the acid, the sky being as strong in darkness of line as any other part. One copy, by Jerome Hopfer. B. 99.

96. *The monster Pig.*—A porcine Siamese-twins. In Durer's 'Journal' there is evidence of his interest in natural wonders, and also in novelties brought from the then new countries. B. 95.

97. *The Shield with the Lion and Cock.*—In manipulation with the graver, this is one of the most excellent pieces of work ever done. One reversed copy. B. 100.

98. *The Shield of the Death's Head*, 1503.—A 'wild man,' a hairy Orson, who supports the shield, is about to kiss a woman, who also assists in sustaining it. She is dressed in the fashion of the time. A perfect copy by Wierix. B. 101.

We may remark that the cock always appears perched on the top of the waggon in the prints of marching trains or foraging parties, about or shortly after that time, as in H. Sebald Beham's large woodcut, with Death bringing up the rear. In the second of these armorial prints, it appears to me, Durer has a moral intention.

## *Portraits.*

99. *The smaller Cardinal Archbishop Albert of Magdeburg and Maintz*, 1519.—A head and shoulders looking to the right. On his head is a barette, and he is clothed with the *mozzetta*, or cape. He was born in 1490, made archbishop at 23: he would be 29 at the date of this engraving. This print is scarce. The background is a curtain. Below is a shaded field with this inscription:—'SIC. OCULOS. SIC. GENAS. SIC. ILLE. ORA. FEREBAT. ANNO ETATIS SUE

XXIX. MDXIX. *Copies.*—(1) By Lucas Cranach, dated 1520. (2) A very perfect copy, often sold as the original. (3) Copy dated 1755. Three others like Durer's, and two reversed. B. 102.

100. *The larger Portrait of the same.* He also looks to the right and wears a barette; he is dressed in a rochet. The background is wholly shaded with oblique parallel lines, and Durer's monogram is on the left under the shadow. Of this there are three copies, two of them reversed. B. 103.

101. *Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony*, 1524.—Head and shoulders turned to the left. Below is a tablet with a long inscription. The admirable head is full of character, the compressed lips giving sure indication of ability and firmness, as well as expressing a deficiency of teeth within them. *Copies.*—(1) There is one copy of this plate so deceptive that it is scarcely possible to detect the difference. (2) Copy inscribed C. Fritzsch sculp. Hamb.; also five reversed. B. 104.

102. *Erasmus*, 1526.—The philosopher, more than reformer, was at Brussels when Durer visited the Low Countries in 1520–1, and he says in his 'Journal,' 'I have recommenced the portrait of Erasmus.' Erasmus writes. The inscription on the white tablet, which covers the background, contains the name and the words 'ad vivum delineata.' *Copies.*—(1) By H. Hondius; the upper part only. (2) Another similarly treated. Six reversed copies. B. 107.

103. *Philip Melanchthon*, 1526.—Head and shoulders looking to the right. These two portraits of his friends may be considered as companions, and, had Durer lived, no doubt we would have had others of the intellectual leaders of the great movement of the sixteenth century. *Copies.*—(1) By Hering, with his name. (2) By Froschel, with name also. Two others, like the original, and thirteen reversed copies, by Hondius and others. B. 105.

104. *Bilibald Pirkheimer*, 1524.—The head is full of character and thought, but of a coarse type. This plate was a great

favourite with the world, although it seems to have been private property, and his son-in-law Hans Imhoff possessed it in 1598. The works of Pirkheimer were published by M. Goldast, Frankfort, 1610, folio. He also appears in Imhoff's 'Theatrum Virtutis Honoris.' *Copies.*—(1) There is a very perfect copy, which can scarcely be distinguished from the original, even by comparing them line by line. (2) Another, almost as good. (3) Another, without the year in the inscription. (4) Marked 'Joh. Jac. Haid excud. Aug. v.' (5) One without Durer's monogram and the date. (6) One by C. W. Knorr, 1550, so marked. (7) As a medal. (8) In an oval. (9) On wood, by T. Stimmer. Two others, and nine others reversed, some very closely imitated. Twenty altogether. B. 106.

Bartsch admits these engravings into the list of Durer's works; but they are certainly not by him, viz.

105. *The Trinity.* B. 27.

106. *Portrait of Joachim Patinïer.* B. 108. A print by C. Cort, after the drawing by Durer done on his travels, 1521.

107. *La Vierge à la Porte.* B. 45.

This last Passavant considers by Marc' Antonio, after a design by Durer; but Mr. G. W. Reid, of the British Museum, made the ingenious discovery, that the whole subject, even to a single weed growing by the edge of the composition, is made up by arranging portions from various of Durer's works all reversed, the only original portion being the head of the Virgin, which has an Italian character. This composite character is the more extraordinary, as the print is evidently by an artist of ability.*

* There is a Venetian print of 'Venus after the Bath,' the figures copied from Marc' Antonio's print after Raphael, the background made up from the 'Rape of Amymone' and 'S. Hubert,' which M. Émile Galichon ('A. Durer, sa Vie et ses Œuvres,' p. 17) attributes to Veneziano. It bears Durer's monogram.

Passavant admits these into his catalogue, and has besides two additions which he numbers consecutively with Bartsch.

108. *The Crucifixion.*—Only partially done in the faint outline usual to Durer's practice in commencing a print. This is mentioned by Sandrart as a great engraving of the Crucifixion left unfinished.

109. *The Conversion of S. Paul.*—Paul is seated on horseback. If this is really Durer's, it would be one of his very earliest essays, like the 'Wild Man seizing the Woman.'

# II.

## CATALOGUE OF DURER'S WOOD ENGRAVINGS.

(*The initial numbers are Heller's; the numbers of Bartsch* (*B.*) *are added.*)

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In Durer's time, wood engraving was an old, and copper engraving a new art. The block-books and playing cards were the earliest woodcuts, whether pages of lettering only, or with pictures; and the engraver was a *Formschneider*, or cutter for the case or form of the printing press. The block-book had been superseded by the metal types, and the *Formschneider* was now only employed on pictures; but the new art of copper engraving (or engraving proper) immediately took a higher position than that of clearing out the wood so as to leave only the lines drawn by the pen of the designer, which is in fact what the wood engraver has to do.

The idea, first started by Bartsch, that Durer never actually engraved on the wood but only drew the picture on the block, is now generally admitted as true. Ottley, however, and others consider he did engrave occasionally. The reader may consult Chatto in Jackson's 'History of Wood Engraving.'

In the early period of the art the process was materially different from that now in use. Now box wood, cut sectionally, is exclusively used; the tool employed being the burin. In Durer's time pear-tree and other woods were used, and in the plank simply; a very fine knife was the instrument principally employed. The thirty-six blocks of the 'Little Passion,' now in

the British Museum, are cut out of the plank. It will thus be seen that a large size was an immense advantage, and we need less to wonder at the dimensions of Durer's and other early artists' block pictures, those by Hans Sebald Beham and Burgkmair for example. The copper engraving was a miracle of miniature detail in the hands of H. S. Beham, his wood engravings gigantic. The impressions of Durer's Triumphal Arch of Maximilian show the seams of the planks running from end to end.

## *Old Testament.*

1. *Cain Killing Abel.* B. 1.

2. *Samson Killing the Lion.*—A large print, finely cut, but poorly felt. B. 2.

## *New Testament.*

3. *Adoration of the Magi*, 1511.—A beautiful work of medium size. *Copies.*—(1) (2) Without the monogram and date. (3) On copper, by Marc' Antonio. Four others reversed. B. 3.

*The Greater Passion: a Series of Twelve. Size*, 15 *inches by* 10¾.

4. *The Title.*—Our Lord seated; the crown of thorns on his head, and his hands clasped. Before him a soldier mocks him with the reed, which he offers as a sceptre. B. 4–15.

5. *The Last Supper*, 1510.—A grand composition, in which it is to be observed, if we count the figure standing with the German flagon and mug in his hands, there are twelve Apostles besides Judas.

6. *The Agony in the Garden.*—This composition, and the peculiar treatment of the Angel especially, has a much earlier character than the last. It is indeed like an early work. There is no date.

7. *The Seizing of Christ*, 1510.—He is already in the violent grasp of an armed mass of men. Nothing more terrible or pathetic was ever done of this subject.

8. *The Flagellation.*—This is without date, and I would venture, from internal evidence, to consider it an earlier work.

9. *The Mocking.*—Christ is presented to the Jews, who disclaim him, and call out 'Crucify him!' A grand work of the dramatic sort.

10. *Bearing the Cross.*—Durer never did anything finer than this noble work.

11. *The Crucifixion.* Another work above criticism. Noble beyond the most of the creations of human genius. The sad mother sunk upon the ground and the group supporting her are truly touching. The treatment is mystical—the sun and moon sympathise, and three angels save the blood from the blessed wounds in cups.

12. *Christ taking the First Redeemed from Hades.*—This incident, called by our old English mystery playwrights, 'The Harrowing of Hell,' 1510, is always placed immediately after the crucifixion and before the entombment; not as in the Creed, 'He was crucified, dead, and buried; he descended into hell, and the third day he rose again.' This is another mighty creation of the art of our master. The treatment was indeed settled for him to some extent, but the realisation is more full than in any other representation, early or later.

13. *The Bewailing of the Maries.*—A truly noble work. B. 13.

14. *The Entombment.*—Another great and admirable production, although a little archaic in the action of the figures.

15. *The Resurrection.*—This finishes the series, twelve in number, of the 'Greater Passion,' one of the five prolonged works of the master illustrating the Christian history. Three of these refer to the 'Passion,' viz. that we are now speaking of; the 'Lesser Passion,' on wood, thirty-seven designs; and the 'Passion' on

copper, very elaborate small plates already described; the other two being the 'Apocalypse,' fifteen wood engravings, same size as the 'Greater Passion,' and the 'Life of the Virgin,' twenty in number. The 'Apocalypse' series was done in 1498; and it appears to me the unequal prints in the series of the 'Greater Passion' have been done at or about that period, and retained till an opportunity occurred for the completion of the set.

Passavant enumerates four editions, or issues, of the 'Greater Passion:'—

1. Without text on the back of prints and title; very perfect.
2. With the text; strong and good.
3. Without text; coarser in printing.
4. Printed by Koppmayer of Augsburg, 1675.

These last are those commonly offered for sale, but there must have been a very large issue of the second and third classes as well. On the back of the last plate (the Resurrection) there are no verses, only the imprint,—'Impressum Nurnberge per Albertum Durer pictorem. Anno Christiano Millesimo quingentesimo undecimo.' Then follows the curious caution to imitators and pirates, from whom Durer must have suffered all his life. The greatest pirates, however, were beyond the power of the Kaiser, in Venice and elsewhere. This Latin inscription is given elsewhere. The following is the title to the work:—'Passio Domini nostri Jesu, ex Hieronymo Paduano, Dominico Manico, Sedulio et Baptista Mantuano, per fratrem Chelidonium collecta, cum figuris Alberti Dureri Norici Pictoris.' The verses so collected and made by Brother Chelidonius are printed on the backs of the pictures. The 'Lesser Passion' and the 'Life of the Virgin' were also furnished with verses by him.

*Copies.*—Notwithstanding the proclamation of the danger to rash and avaricious hands, and of the difficulty in execution, copies were made; one or two, the 'Crucifixion' especially, very closely imitative. Marc' Antonio engraved on copper the

'Bewailing of the Maries,' and Henry Goltzius the 'Entombment.' No complete series of deceptive copies, however, does exist.

*The Little Passion: A Series of* 37, *title included.*
*Size,* 5 *inches by* $3\frac{7}{8}$.

16. *The Title.*—Christ seated with the crown of thorns on his head. B. 16.

17. *Adam and Eve taking the Apple.* B. 17.

18. *The Expulsion from Paradise.*—These two preliminary designs show the sin and consequent loss of happiness which the suffering of Christ was to cancel and restore. B. 18.

19. *The Annunciation by Gabriel.* B. 19.

20. *The Nativity: Adoration of the Shepherds.*—It will be observed the master has not chosen the Magi, but the Shepherds, for his one illustration of the Nativity. B. 20.

21. *The Entry into Jerusalem.* B. 21.

22. *The Cleansing of the Temple.* B. 22.

23. *Christ taking leave of his Mother before his Passion.*—It must be admitted that Durer in all his works has shown great respect for the mother of the Saviour. B. 23.

24. *The Last Supper.* B. 24.

25. *The Washing of the Feet.* B. 25.

26. *The Agony in the Garden.* B. 26.

27. *The Kiss of Judas.* B. 27.

28. *Christ brought before Annas.* B. 28.

29. *The High-priest Caiaphas rends his Clothes.* B. 29.

30. *The Mocking in the House of Caiaphas.* B. 30.

31. *Our Lord brought before Pilate.* B. 31.

32. *Before Herod.* B. 32.

33. *The Flagellation.* B. 33.

34. *The Crowning with Thorns.* B. 34.

35. *Presented to the People.* B. 35.

36. *Pilate Washing his Hands.* B. 36.

37. *Bearing the Cross.* B. 37.

38. *The Veronica.*—This design breaks the continuity of suffering. It represents the woman who wiped the face of our Lord, exhibiting her *true image.* SS. Peter and Paul on either side. B. 38.

39. *Nailing Christ on the Cross, prone on the Ground.* B. 39.

40. *The Crucifixion.* B. 40.

41. *The Harrowing of Hell.* B. 41.

42. *The Descent from the Cross.* B. 42.

43. *The Weeping of the Maries.* B. 43.

44. *The Entombment.* B. 44.

45. *The Resurrection.* B. 45.

46. *Christ in Glory appearing to his Mother.* B. 46.

47. *Appearing to the Magdalene.* B. 47.

48. *At Emmaus.* B. 48.

49. *The Unbelief of S. Thomas.* B. 49.

50. *The Ascension.* B. 50.

51. *The Descent of the Holy Ghost.* B. 51.

52. *Christ seated for Judgment.*—John the Baptist and the Virgin in the clouds with him; the good and evil, in the distance below, go to their respective destinies. B. 52.

Such is the list of subjects in this most complete of all pictorial schemes of Christian history. No works of Durer's are so well known, and it is unnecessary to describe them. The complete work was published, like the 'Greater Passion,' in 1511. A few seem to have been printed without text at first, although not sold in such numbers as to be considered an edition. The regular editions were the following:—

1. 1511. Over the vignette of the sitting figure of Christ, is the title '*Figuræ Passionis Domini Nostri Jesu Christi.*'

At the end, '*Finis impressum Norimbergæ*, 1511.' No letterpress.

2. Entitled '*Passio Christi ab Alberto Durer*,' &c. Frater Chelidonius supplying the verses, which were printed on the backs of the prints. At the end, 'Impressum Nurnberge per Albertum Durer, pictorẽ;' then follows the long admonition and warning to piratical imitators, as on the 'Greater Passion.'
3. 1612. The blocks having been carried to Venice, they were printed there by Daniel Bissuccio, in small 4to., with Italian verses in ottava rima, by P. R. Maurizio Moro.
4. 1844. The blocks were sold to the British Museum in 1839, and Mr. Henry Cole edited an edition in London in 1844; two of the designs, viz. the Title and Christ Taking Leave of his Mother, having been lost, were re-engraved by Thurston Thompson.
5. Finally, in 1856, Archdeacon Allen, of Salop, issued an edition of thirty-two from stereotypes, with texts from the Evangelists, entitled '*The Humiliation and Exaltation of Our Redeemer*,' published at the wonderfully low price of one shilling.

These London editions are now out of print, and the price of the old copies is higher than before. They have been repeatedly copied; one complete set of deceptive, or 'Mommardische,' copies, as Heller styles them, being so complete and exact as to be undistinguishable by the uninitiated.

It is difficult to give an account of these copies. The one already mentioned has the title similar to the first issue, without the name of a publisher or date. Heller, in his 'Leben und Werken,' gives a little piece, a few lines, or small object, from both original and copy side by side, to afford a criterion for distinguishing them; and even then the difficulty is considerable.

Virgil Solis copied the majority of the set several times; one series of eighteen, and another, different from these, of the whole number, a third of twenty-four. Marc' Antonio copied the whole series, on copper of course: Mr. H. Cole thinks, with the exception of the vignette figure of Christ. An engraver, with the initials G. S., executed a set which were published in 1569, and again issued at Brussels. 'Bruxellæ, etc. Johan Mommartius, 1644.' Still another set is entitled, under the vignette figure, 'Passio Christi ab Alberto Durer Nuremburgensi effigiata. J. A. Colom exc. A. B. Waesbergen excudit.'

53. *The Last Supper*, 1523.—This is a long shaped design, the table being seen in all its length, with the disciples, eleven in number, behind it and at either end. In the foreground is a flat basin ready for the washing of the feet. The dramatic expression of several of the disciples on the announcement of their Lord, that one of them would betray him, is admirably true. It has been copied deceptively. B. 53.

54. *The Mount of Olives.*—A small engraving. B. 54.

55. *Pilate showing Christ to the People.*—Our Lord wears a mantle put upon him in mockery, which Pilate holds with his left hand, stretching the right out to the people. (Not in Bartsch.)

56. *The Head of Christ* (the Veronica). The crown of thorns is on the head. The head is given as on the cloth, which is fastened by two nails. B. Ap. 27.

57. *The great Head of Christ.*—Larger than life. A short beard a little curled, the hair parted under the crown of thorns. Durer's monogram, very large, outside the enclosing line of the print. Hauer, an early authority, considers this drawn by H. Sebald Beham, who, though one of the 'Little Masters' on copper, was fond of very large woodcuts. This head is also found printed in tints (chiaroscuro).

58. *Christ on the Cross*, 1510.—The figure is rather turned to

the left. A wild landscape behind : a Death's head lies at the foot of the cross. This was printed with a series of eight verses appended in columns on the same sheet. These eight verses are headed 'Matins : The first hour. Second hour. Third hour. The sixth hour. Ninth hour. Vespers. Compline, and a Prayer.' Durer's monogram is at the end of these verses, marking them to be his as well as the design. B. 55.*

59. *Christ on the Cross;* 1516.—On the left stands Mary, her arms crossed on her breast; on the right, John. Above is the Holy Ghost with God the Father in a glory of angels. On the two sides of the design are broad borders with angels carrying the implements of the Passion and vine leaves. This is a fine work, and was afterwards printed as one of the titlepages in the large and fine Bible by Martin Luther, printed in Nurnberg, by Frederic Peppus, 1524. (Another of these titlepage designs is by Durer's friend and assistant Hans Springinklee.) This has been often copied at an early time, the copies now passing as original impressions. B. 56.

60. *Calvary.*—Christ is on the Cross between the two thieves, the Magdalene at the foot, and in the left foreground Mary is fainting. A composition full of figures. B. 59.

61. *The Crucifixion.*—On the right S. John, the mother has fainted. A large block. B. 57.

62. *Christ on the Cross with Three Angels.*—The angels save the blood from the wounds in four cups. A large design, done on two blocks. Sometimes only the upper half is found as a complete work, the figures being then in half. B. 58. This has been closely imitated in a copy.

63. *The Trinity*, 1511.—A very noble mystical work, and one of the most excellent of Durer's designs on wood. Ottley has conjectured that this was intended by Durer as an addition to the

*, These verses are elsewhere given in this volume.

series of the 'Greater Passion;' and he says the engraving is so perfect, Durer may have cut as well as drawn it. This may be said of the 'Mass of S. Gregory' and of the 'Christ on the Cross,' 1516 (B. 56), also. In the 'Trinity,' God the Father supports the dead body of the Son. The subject is a Mystery, not invented by Durer, but seen in illuminations. It has been repeatedly copied. B. 122.

*The Apocalypse of S. John: A Series of* 16 *Designs, including Title*, 1498.

64. *Title.*—John writing, the Virgin and Infant Jesus appearing to him. This is on the lower portion of the page as a vignette: above, in great ornamental text, are the words,

*Apocalipsis.*

*Cũ Figuris.*

65. *The attempted Martyrdom of S. John, in a Cauldron of Boiling Oil, under Domitian*, previous to his banishment to Patmos, where he saw the Visions. B. 61–75.

66. *The Seven Golden Candlesticks and the Seven Stars.*

67. *The Throne of God with the Beasts and the Twenty-four Elders.*

68. *The Four Horses with their Riders.*

69. *The Martyrs clothed in White, and the Stars Falling.*

70. *The Four Angels Holding the Winds, and the Multitude who were Sealed.*

71. *The Seven Angel Trumpeters.*

72. *The Four Angels Slaying the Third Part of Men.*

73. *John is made to eat the Book.*

74. *The Woman clothed with the Sun, and the Seven-headed Dragon.*

75. *The Archangel Michael fights with the Dragon.*

76. *The Worship of the Seven-headed Dragon, and of the Horned Lion.*

77. *The Lamb in Zion.*
78. *The Woman of Babylon Sitting on the Beast.*
79. *The Angel Imprisoning the Dragon.*

In this stupendous series of realisations of the visions seen in the island of Patmos, Durer of course employs the purely naturalistic expression of early German art and literal faith, and, wonderful to say, without any gross absurdities; except perhaps in the figure whose legs were pillars, and who stood on sea and land. Of the terribleness of many of these designs it is not necessary to speak, except indeed to point out that, fearfully impressive as they are, there is nothing of the Sublime in the designs; that is to say, the Sublime as defined by Longinus and Edmund Burke; but they command the feelings and the imagination like the original. This is Durer's earliest series; and it is possible that then for the first time, at the age of twenty-seven, the artist had access to the book itself. We presume every one remembers the impressive effect of his first perusal of the Apocalypse in early youth, while it still held to him the sacred character of a revelation. In Durer's time, when the great movement was yet unshapen—the date of publication is before any translation by Luther or other leaders of freedom—it would have the authority of prophecy.

Passavant says, there were five different editions of the Apocalypse:

1. Proofs without the text, excellent.
2. With the text in German, 1498.
3. With the text in Latin, 1498.
4. Also with Latin text, and title, 1511.
5. Impressions subsequent: most common.

The edition of 1511 was the first appearance of the titlepage design. The first edition has this title, 'Die heimlich offenbarūg Johañis:' and at the end: 'Ein Ende hat das Buch der heimlichen

Offenbarung Sant Johansen des zweltboten und Evangelisten.' Then follow 'Printed at Nurnberg, by Albrecht Durer the painter, after the birth of Christ 1498 years.' It will be observed he calls himself 'Durer the painter' at this early time. In the edition of 1511, it is in Latin, 'p. Albertum Durer pictorem.'

Of these many copies have been made; one of the whole series same size by Jerome Greff, and in Dutch and other Bibles we find small adaptations of these unique inventions.

*Celebrations of the Virgin. The Life of the Virgin:*
20 *Designs*, 1511.

80. *Title.*—Mary sitting on a cushion on the half-moon nursing the Holy Child. B. 76–95.

81. *Joachim's Offering rejected.*—The authorities for the facts of Mary's history, and indeed for the early history of our Lord as well, prior to the great Reform, were the Apocryphal not Canonical Gospels, for some clerical reason or other. In the 'Gospel of the Birth of Mary' and in the 'Protevangelion,' it is recorded that the offering of Joachim and Anna was rejected by the High Priest because they were childless. The parents of the Virgin then parted, and Joachim repaired to the sheepfolds to bewail himself.

82. *The Angel of the Lord appears to Joachim with a promise he shall have a child.*—This is a beautiful work. Observe the truly mediæval idea of the angel giving Joachim a guarantee in the shape of a charter or document with seal attached!

83. *Joachim returns home, and Anna meets him at the Golden Gate.*

84. *The Birth of Mary.*

85. *The Virgin ascending the Steps of the Temple.*—At three years of age the Virgin is carried to be dedicated to the service of the Temple, and in a miraculous manner is able to ascend the sacred stair. A subject often painted by the great Italian masters.

86. *The Marriage of Joseph and Mary.*

87. *The Annunciation.*

88. *The Visitation of Elizabeth.*

89. *The Nativity: with the Adoration of the Shepherds.*

90. *The Circumcision.*

91. *The Adoration of the Three Kings.*

92. *The Purification of Mary.*

93. *The Flight into Egypt.*

94. *The Repose in Egypt.*

95. *Christ Teaching in the Temple.*

96. *Christ Bidding his Mother farewell.*

97. *The Death of the Virgin*, 1510.

98. *The Assumption of the Virgin.*—Received by the Trinity in a glory of angels.

99. *A Celebration of the Virgin-mother.*—A lovely design, with the naïve introduction of little angels playing about the foreground, as in the still lovelier design, the 'Repose in Egypt.' Before the Virgin a greater angel plays on the harp, and S. John amuses the Child by showing it a book—a picture book, we may presume! S. Catherine kneels on the other side. Behind are John the Baptist, SS. Joseph, Paul, Anthony, and Jerome.

The twenty noble and beautiful works form the most excellent votive offering ever made by engraving to the mother of our Lord's body. To commend them, or describe them one by one, is unnecessary; and now to do so in fitting terms of reverence and love is difficult; there is so much that has passed away, and the remainder has got congealed into a dogma by Pius IX. They were published with Latin verses by Brother Chelidonius in 1511, with a warning to pirates and copyists similar to that already given at the end of the 'Greater Passion.'

Passavant enumerates three editions:

1. Proofs. First state without text: most perfect.
2. Edition 1511, with Latin text.
3. Without text: most common.

*Copies.*—This series was immediately copied in Italy and elsewhere. Marc' Antonio engraved them on copper, and sold them in hundreds at Venice. These are often to be found, and impressions, worn out by printing, show how successful the piracy was. His series consists of seventeen plates, Christ teaching in the Temple, the Death of the Virgin, and the Assumption, being omitted. A set of fourteen on wood was also done in Venice, 1557. The woodcuts are often sold as the originals. A set in a small size, with the names of the subjects in Latin below, was also engraved on copper by Le Blond and several others. J. Hopfer etched the flight into Egypt and others.

100. *The Holy Family*, 1511.—An upright composition. Mary is giving the Child to S. Elizabeth, SS. Joseph, and Joachim on either side.—B. 96.

101. *The Holy Family 'with the Cithern,'* 1511.—Two little angels in the foreground, one of whom plays on a cithern, gives the picture its name. S. Elizabeth reads, and there are four old men and two young women (heads) in the group. B. 97.

102. *The Holy Family*, 1526.—She sits on a bank, holding the Child with her right hand, an apple in the left. B. 98.

103. *The Holy Family in a Chamber.*—The Virgin looks to the left. On her lap is a cushion, on which the Child stands. Marc' Antonio pirated this on copper. B. 100.

104. *Mary with the Swaddled Child.*—She sits on a bank of turf, the swaddled Child held in both arms: two angels fly above her with a crown. A round engraving, beneath which, and disconnected from the subject, is a portion of landscape, as if done by a learner in practice. Rare.

105. *Mary Crowned by Two Angels*, 1518.—A sumptuous invention. Rather large size. A number of little angels in the foreground gambol and play. Larger angels surround the Virgin and Child: two fly above with a great crown. The crown is of that character still to be seen in Roman Catholic churches, part

of the 'art treasures' of many a sacristy which one would like now to see consigned to the dust-heap. In Durer's gorgeous picture even it mars the work. It has been three times copied on copper. B. 101.

106. *The Holy Family with the Three Rabbits.*—In an enclosure, usually called a garden, with a landscape in the distance. The Virgin sits, the Child in her lap turning over the leaves of a book. Joseph on the right. Two angels with the 'crown.' The rabbits are in the foreground. B. 102.

*Saints.*

107. *S. Arnolf, Bishop.*—He blesses with his right hand; in the left, the pastoral staff.

108. *S. Christopher*, 1511.—Wading with the Holy Child, who holds the Saint's head with his right. B. 103.

109. *S. Christopher with the Birds.*—The hermit stands with his lantern in the foreground. The birds that give the name to the print are in the sky. B. 104. Copied by M. Antonio among others.

110. *S. Christopher*, 1525. B. 105.

111. *S. Colman*, 1513.*—A Scotch saint, it would seem, martyred by hanging, 1020, at Stockerau in Austria. The shields of Austria and Scotland are on two sides of the subject, two other shields being on the remaining sides. B. 106.

112. *S. Francis receiving the Stigmata.*—Impressions are also

* Nicolas Kratzer, a distinguished astronomer and mathematician of Munich, in the service of our Henry VIII., writes from London to Durer: 'Je vous prie de vouloir me envoyer le portrait de Stabig (Stabius) qui a été portraité dans la figure de S. Colman, gravure sur bois.' The quotation is from Passavant. The print was first published in a poem by Jean Stabius, then in Nurnberg, in connection with whom Durer drew the three geographical pieces of the celestial hemisphere. The poem is on S. Colman.

found in chiaroscuro by printing a tint over the woodcut. Copied by Marc' Antonio. B. 110.

113. *S. George.*—He is on his horse, the dragon lying below receives the lance in his mouth. B. 111.

114. *The Mass of S. Gregory*, 1811.—The saint kneels with the deacon and subdeacon on either side before the altar, from which, open like a tomb, rises the pathetic figure of our Lord, all the instruments of his death appearing about him. This is one of the examples of engraving, with such power and expression in every line as to support the idea that Durer never quite consigned to inferior hands the engraving knife. In every way a noble work. Five times copied on copper. B. 123.

115. *S. Jerome in a Chamber*, 1511.—Another noble piece of woodcutting. He sits at a little desk in a cardinal's dress. The great lion sleeps uneasily in the foreground. Four times copied on copper. B. 114.

116. *S. Jerome in the Grotto*, 1512.—This has been twice printed, once without the date, with a long inscription in German. B. 113.

117. *The Little S. Jerome.* B. 115.

118. *The Beheading of S. John the Baptist.*—Copied many times on copper. B. 125.

119. *The Head of the Baptist brought to Herod*, 1511. B. 126.

120. *S. Sebald; with his foot on a pillar, in his left the model of S. Sebald's kirk in Nurnberg.* B. Ap. 22.*

121. *The Penitent.*—With a scourge before an altar on which burn two candles. B. 119.

122. *The Prophet Elias and the Raven.*—Described in Heller as Elias and S. Anthony. (S. Paul the Hermit?) B. 107.

* This is a doubtful engraving, according to Bartsch. The Appendix which that very good authority gives of doubtful works, or works ascribed to Durer, consists of sixty-two pieces. S. Sebald is one. I am inclined to agree with Heller in considering it a genuine print designed by the master.

123. *SS. John and Jerome.* B. 112.

124. *SS. Nicholas, Udalricus, and Erasmus.*—Three bishops. Nicholas on the left. B. 118.

125. *SS. Stephen, Gregory, and Lawrence.*—On the left is Stephen, holding in his right a palm branch. B. 108.

126. *The Eight Austrian Saints.*—A long print: the eight patron saints of Austria stand separately in order with inscribed names below. B. 116. A rare print, at least in its first edition, 1527.

127. *The Martyrdom of the* 10,000, *in Nicomedia, Bithynia.* B. 117.

128. *The Beheading of S. Catherine.* B. 120.

129. *S. Mary Magdalene.*—Six angels surround the naked Magdalene. The legend is, that she was carried to heaven daily for seven days, to hear the singing of the choirs; after which she rested in her cave. B. 121.

130. *Kaiser Max attending Mass.*—This is a rather large print with a number of figures. B. App. 31. Having adopted Heller's order in this catalogue of Durer's engravings, we enter this one as he has numbered it; I do not think it is by Durer. Passavant rejects it.

*Mythological and Natural Subjects.*

131. *Judgment of Paris.*—Very small. Paris, who is in armour seems to sleep, while the three goddesses stand before him. The same design as the copper engraving, No 63. B. 134.

132. '*Hercules.*'—This name is on a label in the engraving, but no one has been able to make out the meaning of the design, which shows an armed figure lying on the ground trodden by a wild man; two women, corresponding somewhat in character to the two men, are also visible. B. 127.

133. *The Rider.* B. 131.

134. *The Bath.*—A number of squalid men sitting in water,

Both these cuts are of considerable size and inferior character. B. 128.

135. *The Embrace.*—The couple sit at the foot of a great tree. On the left another man waits with a drinking glass. B. 135.

136. *The Learner*, 1510.—He sits in a 'garden,' a book on his knee, in his right hand a staff, a boy before him. On the right sit other youths, inkhorns at their girdles. This is a very scarce print, and the early copies have a number of verses appended in two columns. These verses I have translated; they will be found elsewhere. B. 133.

137. *Death and the Soldier*, 1510.—The Soldier leans on his partisan, Death holds the hour-glass in his right hand. This is nearly the same size as the last, is equally scarce, and the early impressions have also verses attached in two columns. These I have not translated.

138. *The Besieging of a Town*, 1527.—This is a long and narrow print, about twenty-seven inches, by less than a third of that in height. It appeared in Durer's work on 'Fortification,' published in the above year, the year before he died, at the end of the book; a labour of love, and a vindication of the author in his character of artist, rather than a necessary illustration to the book. The walls of the town are defended by a moat, and the attack brings into play many companies of small figures with cannon. This is an extraordinary piece of clear and delicate drawing and engraving. There is a repetition of half of this long and crowded print, sometimes accredited to Durer. B. 137.

139. *The Rhinoceros*, 1515.—The original sketch, which was in the Sloane Collection, is now in the British Museum. It is not evidently from nature. The first animal of this species brought to Europe came to Lisbon in 1513, and King Emmanuel intended it for the Pope. It was lost near Genoa by shipwreck, and Durer, with his love of strange things, must have had some sketch transmitted to him. There is a description of the Rhi-

noceros printed on the two early editions in German, and on the third in Dutch. There were many copies issued. B. 136.

140. *The Triumphal Chariot of Kaiser Maximilian I.*—This is a series of large blocks, eight in number, engraved by Jerome Rösch, exhibiting the gorgeous chariot drawn by twelve richly caparisoned horses led by emblematical nymphs, united in a great wreath. The Kaiser sits in the car holding sceptre and laurel, Victory behind him holding the laurel also over him. The nymphs are the Virtues, their names being given, and the wreaths they carry also represent qualities. The horses also are representative, and even the wheels of the chariot. Altogether it is a splendid piece of decorative invention; all this emblematic matter being characteristic of the time, young ladies actually enacting the Virtues on great occasions of rejoicing, as we see recorded in Durer's 'Journal.' The mandate of Kaiser Max appears on the eighth sheet of this immense train of horses and nymphs, and is addressed to Pirkheimer: Honorabili nostro et Imperii sacri fideli, dilecto Bilibaldo Pirckheymer, consiliario nostro.' This is on the second edition, that of 1523, and the invention is claimed by Durer thus: 'Excogitatus et depictus est Currus iste Nurembergae: Impressus vero per Albertum Durer. Anno MDXXIII.' The painting of this subject on the wall of the Rathhouse is much effaced. The first edition was in 1522, with the mandate in German. A third edition, 1598, appears also with Latin text. The Kaiser died in 1519; so neither this, nor the admirable portrait, nor the prodigious Triumphal Arch, all three celebrations of his greatness by his court painter, were published in his lifetime. A fourth edition appeared in 1609. It has been twice copied in small. B. 139.

141. *The Triumphal Arch of the Kaiser Max.*—This is a combination of ninety-two blocks, making an engraved surface of 11 feet 3 inches by 10 feet wide. It represents three doors approached by steps, and divided and surmounted by columns and a kind of panels. The centre port, the royal entrance, is inscribed,

'The Door of Honour and Power.' That on the left is the 'Door of Praise,' and, on the right, the 'Door of Magnanimity or Nobility.' The whole decoration is in fantastic, impracticable renaissance taste, with a wild German flavour, made up of capitals composed of living eagles or storks, real men-at-arms on the panels or in the niches, and all the Kaisers who had preceded Maximilian in their costume, as portraits, amidst endless vine leaves. The centre block, representing the upper part of the 'Door of Honour and Power,' with the keystone of the arch composed of a winged woman holding the imperial crown, taken by itself, is a delightful bizarre piece of architecture, but the whole ninety-two blocks laid together entirely fail in their impression. There is nō largeness, mass, or shadow.

This huge labour was begun most likely in 1515; but there is no clear account of how the work progressed, or when it was finished. Stabius, who died at Gratz, 1522, wrote five folio sheets of explanation. Dr. Dibden, on whose authority we give the number of blocks as ninety-two, states the size of the whole as 11 feet 3 by 10 feet, and imagines one of the blocks has never been finished. Be this as it may, we may with some certainty suppose the *Formschneiders* of Nurnberg, then becoming a numerous body, among them perhaps the round-faced young damsel who appears in his book of sketches inscribed 'Fronica, Formschneiderin,' engaged year after year on these wide squares of engraving. Jerome Rösch undoubtedly worked on them.

The first printing, we can't speak of an edition, is of uncertain date, most probably issued in portions. There are impressions of early character in the cabinet of Vienna and elsewhere. What is called the second printing was in 1559, thirty-one years after the death of the artist, forty after the death of the Kaiser, at 'Vienna in Austria, by Raphael Hofhalter.' Third printing. In 1779, under the superintendence of Bartsch, entitled 'Ehrenpforte. Arc triomphal de l'Empereur Max I, gravé en bois d'après les dessins d'Albert Durer. A Vienne, chez T. Mollo et Comp.' It

was found that twenty-one blocks had been lost, and Bartsch did these on copper. The number printed was of course small. B. 138.

142. *The Great Column with the Satyr*, 1517.—This curious piece of ornament is composed of four sheets, which, joined together, form a grotesque column of about 4½ feet in height. B. 129.

143. *A Man sketching another sitting opposite, by means of a square frame.* B. 146.

144. *Two Men sketching a Lute.* B. 147.

145. *A Man sketching an Urn.* B. 148.

146. *A Man sketching a Woman.* B. 149.—These four are illustrations in his work on Geometry and Perspective, and exhibit scientific contrivances to explain the difference between real and apparent form.

147. *Hemispherium Australe.* B. 150.

148. *Imagines Cœli Septentrionalis.* B. 151.

149. *Imagines Cœli Meridionalis.* B. 151.—The three prints are, in fact, celestial geography, and were very extraordinary and learned things, when no such maps had ever been printed before in a similar manner. They evidently did not originate with Durer; as the names of John Stabius, Conrad Heinfogel, and Albert Durer appear on them: thus, on the last of the three, 'Joann. Stabius ordinavit, Conradus Heinfogel stellas posuit, Albertus Durer imaginibus circumscripsit,' the three shields of these three learned coadjutors appearing below. Stabius must have had the greater hand in the work. He was a leading Latin poet and philosopher at that day, and Durer would appear to have given a portrait of him in the figure of S. Colman, as already mentioned in a note to the engraving of that saint (111). Stabius died at Gratz, 1522.

150–155. *Six round ornamental Designs, on Black Ground*; supposed patterns for embroidering.—These are labyrinths or interlaced ornaments, such as could be well expressed by braiding.

Durer's monogram is in the centre of one of these. There is a copy of this one with the words, 'Academia Leonardi Vĩci;' but what this means it is impossible to say. B. 140–145.*

156. *A Decoration*, with the figures of God the Father holding the chalice in one hand and tables of the law in the other, and Christ bearing his Cross. A doubtful work. B. App. 28.

157. *A Title-Border*, with John baptizing Christ. B. App. 30.—The four sides of the enclosing border exhibit different subjects. John writing his visions in Patmos, the Virgin appearing to him, &c. This title was used for more than one book.

158. *Another Title-Border*, for a book published 1526, in 4to.—On the upper part of the design an angel sits, playing on a cithern. Below, a shield, with various devices.

159. *The Pirkheimer Title-Border.*—Two little angels hold a heart-shaped shield, on which a birch tree with its root is seen. Two other angels are behind, on right and left, blowing trumpets, &c. This title was used for several books by Bilibald Pirkheimer, published by Fredericus Peypus of Nurnberg, 1516, 1517.

## *Heraldic Pieces.*

160. *The Arms of the Patrician Family of Beham.*—The shield, bearing a river, is divided by a perpendicular line, and decorated with arabesques. The helmet is beside it, with an eagle with outspread wings as a crest. This was done by Durer for the counsellor Michael Beham in 1511. B. 154.

161. *Shield of Arms of the Durers*, dated 1523.—A fanciful shield founded on the pun on the name Dürer, Thürer, Thor, a door. There are no initials A.D. within the door, to identify it with the painter himself, whose bearings, as we have seen, were three ecussons on a field of blue, granted by the Emperor, according to Van

* One of these designs has been adopted as the stamp on the board of this book.

Mander, and engraved by H. S. Beham (B. 258). Another instance of this shield with the door being applied to Albert, is on the portrait (174 in this list) done after his death, and there are no initials within it, either, in the first printings. The crest is also a pun on the name, which means also a fool. A blackamoor, a dwarf, and a motley, were all considered within the definition of court fool. Here a negro's head with two wings is the crest; in Beham's print, a negro's head with two antlers. *Copy*: small, on copper, by Le Blon: he has placed the A. D. on the shield, and below, '*Insignia celeberrimi Alberti Durer*,' which is a mistake. B. 160.

162. *The Shield of Arms of the Nurnberg families Ebner and Furer*, 1516.—Two little winged angels hold the shield. B. App. 45.

163. *The Shield of Arms of the Kressen Family.*—A sword. An open helmet surmounts the shield, the crest being a man demi. B. 161.

164. *The Arms of the Town of Nurnberg*, 1521.—Two angels with great wings stand right and left, holding the shields of the Emperor, the double eagle, and of the town, the 'Jungfern-adler,' young eagle. Two winged female figures appear behind,—the one crowned, with a sword in her right hand; the other, wearing a chaplet, holds a purse of money in her right hand; the left, from which fire streams, is open against her breast. Over this is a tablet with the words Sancta Justicia, 1521. This heraldic and emblematic design was printed on the back of a book-title, 'Reformation der Stat Nüremberg.'

165. *The Shields of Albert von Scheuerl and of Ann Ziuglin.* B. 164.

166. *Arms of Johann Stabius.*—A single eagle with spread wings. This learned poet and man of science we have seen associated with Durer in various ways; they having their names and shields on the maps of the celestial hemisphere, and Stabius having written a

long explanatory text to the Triumphal Arch. The wood-block of this heraldic design was preserved in the Hof-bibliothek of Vienna, and was reprinted in 1781 with this inscription, 'Tabula ab Alberto Durer ligno incisa, quæ in Augustissima Bibliotheca Cæs. Vindobonensi asservatur. MDCCLXXXI.' B. 165.

167. *The Shield of Stabius with a Border.*—This also was reprinted at Vienna at the same time as the preceding. B. 166.

168. *The Arms of Laurence Staiber.*—A divided shield with leopard and hound. B. 167, 168.

169. *The Shield with Three Lions' Heads.* B. 169.

170. *The Arms with the Wild Man and Two Dogs.* B. 170.—These ten heraldic cuts are included in all lists of Durer's works, one or two excepted. Prints of heraldry were then prized, and ornaments of the florid kind with fanciful figures applied to enhance the interest. Jost Amman's Wappenbuch has some good art of this kind. Durer may have done all these enumerated; but it is more probable he did not, at least with his own hand. However, rarity is the main interest to many collectors, and the Rhinoceros, or a coat of arms, will be paid for as highly as the Mass of S. Gregory, or other excellent work.

## *Portraits.*

171. *The Emperor Maximilian*, 1519.—A head, nearly the size of life, of the great ruler and good friend to Durer, bordered by a decoration on sides and top, and an inscription below. This inscription shows the print to have been published after the death of the great Kaiser: 'Der Teur Furst Kayser Maximilianus ist auff den XII. tag des Jenners seines alters im 59 jar seligklich von dyser zeyt geschaiden. Anno Dom. 1519.' The singularly expressive face is admirably rendered. He wears a barret with a

little medallion of the Virgin on the front. He is clean shaved. On either side of the head are the words

IMPERATOR CÆSAR
DIVUS MAXI MILIANUS
PIUS FELIX AUGUSTUS.

When the Earl of Arundel was ambassador at the court of Vienna in 1623, he purchased the wood-block of this portrait from a dealer named Schwankhard, and at this time there were impressions taken. What came of this wood-block is not known: it may still exist. B. 153.

172. *Emperor Maximilian.*—Like the last mentioned, a three-quarter face turned towards the right. Over the head is a label with the words, 'Imperator Cæsar Divus Maximilian Pius Felix Augustus.' B. 154.

173. *Ulrich Varnbuler*, 1522.—A profile turned to the right, very admirably expressed. A great hat with flaps on his head, with a cap under it. This also is a large size, and there were three blocks prepared to print over the woodcut, so as to produce a chiaroscuro. This and Nos. 57 and 112 are probably the only instances of Durer having employed this method, which was at one time claimed as the Italian invention of Ugo da Carpi, but now resigned to the Germans. There are engravings by both Lucas Cranach and H. Baldung Grün, dated 1509, nine years previous to the earliest Italian example. B. 155.

174. *Albert Durer's portrait.* B. 156.—Inscribed 'Albrecht Durers contrefeyt in seinem alter Des LVI Jares.' B. 156. Following Heller I enter this portrait, which is a large print, with the head in profile looking to the left: straight thick hair cut short round, and beard of the same character. In the top left corner is the Durer shield, the open door; and, under the print, a poem of twenty-four lines, in praise of Durer. But internal evidence proves this work to the eye of an artist to be by another hand, and not

by Durer himself. The elongated form of the eye betrays the inferior draughtsman as well as the barrenness of the execution throughout. The earlier varieties of impression do not indeed show any intention to pass off the portrait as the work of Durer himself; it is only the fourth printing that exhibits the monogram and date A.D. 1527 on the door on the shield previously vacant. I am inclined to go still further and question the veracity of the portrait altogether; the general shape of the head and face, the straight character of hair and beard are specifically different from all the earlier portraits. Moreover, the ignorance of Durer shown in the last line of the verses goes to show the print to have been issued by some one little intimate with the great artist. The verse says he died on May 6, whereas he died on April 6, 1528, aged fifty-seven years, having been born most probably on April 6, 1471. This portrait was copied five several times, one of these often passing as the original. In late times also it has had much favour. The first and genuine engraving is recognised by a small portion of shading (one of the folds of the dress touching the lower edge near the middle of the print) being done by five short curved lines and a dot, the second engraving (copy) having eight. It has no A. D. within the door on the shield.

## III.

### DOUBTFUL WOOD ENGRAVINGS.

1. *Adam and Eve.*—Eve stands on the left and takes the apple from the Serpent's mouth with her left hand. On the tree sits an owl. B. App. 1.

2. *Adam, lying on the Ground.*

3. *Eve.*—Companion to the last. In her left hand the apple.

4. *Job.*—His wife stands by him, and the Devil tempts him. B. App. 2.

5. *David, playing on the Harp.*

6. *Judith.*—She holds the head of Holofernes.

All these are passed over by Passavant as not Durer's.

7. *The Annunciation.*—The Angel holds a sceptre in his left hand. (Passavant's 'list of additional wood engravings.')

8. *The Nativity.*—The Wise Men making their offering. Two pieces: in one Mary kneels before the Holy Child, in the other the Magi advance. (Passavant's list. B. App. 3.)

9. *The Sister of Lazarus meeting Jesus.*

10. *Christ bidding his Mother farewell.*—This is supposed to be by Schauflein.

11. *The Agony on the Mount of Olives.*

12. *The Crowning with Thorns.*—Christ holds the reed in his right hand. B. App. 4.

13. *Christ on the Cross.*—The Virgin and S. John standing below; over is Durer's monogram. (Passavant's list.)

14. *Christ on the Cross*, 1509.—He is turned towards the left. S. John at the right side. Round is an arabesque, in which are angels bearing the lance, sponge, veronica, &c.

15. *Christ on the Cross.*—Turned towards the left. On the right stands S. John, and over him the half-moon. On the left the Virgin, the sun above her head. Printed by Hans Guldenmund.

16. *Christ on the Cross.*—Under the cross kneels the Magdalene. On the right are Mary and S. John. On the other side a man has the sponge on the reed. B. App. 6.

17. *Christ appearing to Mary Magdalene.*—Christ holds in his left hand a spade. B. App. 8.

18. *Christ sitting on his Grave.*

19. *Christ sitting on the Cross.*—He is turned to the right. Above are the words, Ecce Homo. This appears also as a chiaroscuro shaded with two blocks.

20. *Virgin kneeling by the Body of Christ.* B. App. 7.

21. *Christ with the Lamb.*

22. *Christ in half-figure, with arabesque.*—On the right is A.D.

23. *An Altar.*—Pillars on either hand, the centre being divided into thirteen small pictures of incidents in the life of the Virgin. This was printed in a book against Luther, Leipsig, 1530, in 4to, intituled 'Aliqua Opuscula magistri Hieronimi Dungerszheym ex Ostrofranciæ Bosphoro, vulgo Ochsenfarth,' &c. B. App. 9.

24. *The Holy Family*, 1519.—The Virgin kneels before the Holy Child at the right side. S. Anna supporting the infant on her lap. B. App. 10. (Passavant's list.)

25. *S. Anna on a Throne.*—She sits with the Holy Child on her lap. On the right kneels Mary. B. App. 11.

26. *S. Anna*, 1518.—Sitting on a bank; an open book, which she holds by her right hand, on her lap. Before her sits Mary, with the Holy Child held by both hands.

27. *The Nursing Mary*—She sits in the middle of the picture on a bank holding the Child to her right breast with both hands. B. 99.

28. *The Virgin with the Holy Child on her Lap*: he holds an apple in the left hand. A Saint kneels to her on the right. B. App. 12. (Passavant's list.)

29 *The Virgin with a Crown on her Head.*—She holds the Child on her lap by both hands. In his right hand is an apple. B. App. 13.

30. *The Virgin with the Standing Child.*—The Virgin sits with the Holy Child on her lap standing on a cushion. On her head is a veil. B. App. 14.

31. *The B. Virgin.*—A half length. In her left hand a book, and with her right she holds the Child standing on a cushion. B. App. 15.

32. *The B. Virgin*, 1520.

33. *The B. Virgin.*—On the moon.

34. *The Virgin between Two Bishops.*—The Holy Child on her arm.

35. *The Virgin with Two Angels.*—She stands in a kind of Gothic niche.

36. *The Virgin and Child Sitting on a Throne*, near her standing the SS., Henry the Emperor and Ulrich.

37. *La Ste. Vierge aux Chartreux.*—In her left hand a sceptre, in her right the Child. Her mantle is held on the left by S. John, on the right by S. Bruno: on both sides kneel Carmelites. (Passavant's list.)

38. *SS. Jude and Matthias.*

39. *S. Anthony.*

40. *S. Augustine.*

41. *S. Christopher.*—The hermit on the left.

42. *S. Christopher.*—Wading, he turns his head to the left.

43. *The same.*—Turned towards the right. He holds the staff with both hands. B. App. 16. (Passavant's list.)

44. *The same.*—The Saint is in the water towards the left. God the Father is seen in the upper part of the design.

45. *S. George with the Dragon.*—An oval medallion.

46. *S. Jerome.*—He kneels on his right knee. (Passavant's list.)

47. *S. John*, sitting under a tree, sees the Virgin and Child in the clouds.

48. *S. Laurence.*—The Martyrdom. One of the executioners has a bellows.

49. *The same subject.*

50. *S. Martin*, cutting his mantle for the beggar He is on horseback as usual. B. App. 18.

51. *Conversion of S. Paul.*—B. App. 17.

52. *S. Sebald.*—Very small.

53. *The same.*—He holds the model of the Sebalds-kirk in Nurnberg in his right hand. B. App. 19. (Passavant's list.)

54. *The same*, 1518.—He stands under a stone arch; in his hand a model of the Sebalds-kirk.

55. *S. Sebastian.*—Bound to a tree on the left; two men on the right with arrows.

56. *The same.*—Bound to a tree on the right of the design; on the left stands a man with a bent bow. B. App. 22.

57. *The Martyrdom of S. Sebastian.*—The Saint is bound to a tree on the right; opposite, a man shoots at him. In the background are two Turks. A castle and town in the distance. (Passavant's list.)

58. *S. Simon*, 1523.

59. *The Stoning of S. Stephen.*

60. *The Unbelief of S. Thomas.*

61. *S. Ulrich.*—The mitre in his hand.

62. *S. Willibald.* (Passavant's list.)

63. *The same, sitting.* Below, the arms of the town, with three lions and a pastoral staff.

64. *A Bishop standing.*—In his left hand the staff. Called by Passavant S. Arnolf, No. 191, in his list of additions. B. App. 23.

65. *Two kneeling Bishops.*—Angels stand behind, and in the sky are angels.

66. *A Bishop with a Knight in Armour.*—The black eagle on the shield.

67. *Six Saints standing near one another.*—The Saint on the left is a bishop, who holds the shield of Austria; that on the right is in armour, the black eagle on his shield, and Durer's monogram on his breast.

68. *S. Barbara*, seated, with a cup, on which stands the host held by both hands. Her tower stands beside her on the left. B. App. 24.

69. *S. Catherine.*—An open book held in both hands, she sits on a curved stool, the sword by her side. B. App. 25.

70. *S. Catherine*, with the year 1519.

71. *The same.*

72. *S. Dorothea*; with long hair streaming from under a crown. In her right hand a bunch of flowers, and in her left an open book.

73. *A Female Saint*, on a little altar, a star on her left breast.

74. *The Emperor Maximilian*, praying to God in the company of the Holy Virgin and a number of Saints, 1519. This is a large and very able design. The Kaiser kneels in the centre, and from a portal (left hand side) appears God with the ball of the world in his left hand, a noble figure. The cross in the nimbus, and the character of the face and figure indicate rather Christ than the Father eternal, although the figure is usually considered the latter. That the Virgin holds the Holy Child in her arms would seem to militate against my supposition. Behind the Kaiser are SS. Andrew, Sebastian, Leopold, George, and Maximilian, the emperor's patron. Bartsch says there are impressions with Durer's monogram stamped on the back. The work has, however, a rather later character, but is worthy of Durer. B. 32.

75. *The Trinity in a Wreath of Roses.*—Christ is on the Cross, surrounded by Apostles and Angels. Above are the Holy Ghost and God the Father. B. App. 29.

76. *The Trinity.*—This is double the size of the last, about fourteen inches, but the same composition slightly changed.

77. *The Day of Judgment.*—Christ sits on a rainbow, and blesses with his right hand. The sword is on one side, and the lily branch on the other; Mary below on the left, John on the right. The earliest impressions are not marked, but the later printing showed Durer's monogram. Bartsch included it: B. 124. Heller thinks it may be by Hans Schaufflein.

78. *The same.*—The entrance to heaven is on the right, at which stands S. Peter with his Keys to admit the Blessed. On the opposite is the mouth of hell. The Holy Trinity appears as three figures, of equal importance, seated, in long drapery. This is a titlepage to the following: 'Ein nutzbarliches buchlein, bei vater Johannes von Staupitz, Doctor, und der reformirten Augustiner Vicarius.' ('A useful little book, by father John von Staupitz, doctor, and vicar of the Reformed Augustines. Nurnberg, 1516.') Under the print is

15 JESUS 17.
DEIN BIN ICH, MACH MICH SELIG.
V. I. V. S.

79. *The Little Mass.*

80. *The Altar.*—This is in three pieces. In the first is the Trinity. In the second the Bearing the Cross, the Suffering Christ, the Assumption of Mary: this last copied from Durer's print, No. 98, in the catalogue. In the third division are SS. Christopher and Barbara, and Purgatory.

81. *A Letter of Indulgence.*—(This and No. 79 I have not seen, but simply copy from Heller, who makes no comment, quoting from Heinecke.)

82. *Venus and Cupid*: small.

83. *Venus on a Dolphin with a Banner over her.*—This is mentioned in an old catalogue by Von Hauer, the early authority on Durer's works.

84. *Daphne changed into a Tree.*—(Quoted from Heinecke.)

85. *The Tapestry Picture of Michelfeld, or an Allegory.*—This is a long-shaped design of three blocks, made for working in tapestry or carpet. In the first block we see a woman who shows the hour, and a fox that drives a wheel on which birds sit, as eagle, jay, magpie, with other matters difficult to unriddle. The second division shows three emblematic figures held in stocks, their names above them: Judgment, Truth, and Reason, &c. The third portion shows a scholar, with a priest following him. Opposite, on the right, is a figure in long garments representing Providence. The whole is garnished with couplets of uncouth verse. B. App. 34.

86. *The Running Match.*—Two men run after a third; an ass follows. In the background are a man and a hart. B. App. 39.

87. *An Allegory of the Folly of the World.*—A man in armour mounted on an ass. He holds a sceptre in one hand, and an arrow in the other. This is 'Tyranny.' Behind him a man with a knife cuts or shaves the ass's hide. He is labelled 'Geitz' (Avarice?). On the ground lies Hypocrisy. 'Vernunft,' 'Gerechtikeyt,' and 'Wort Gottes' are all represented and labelled. Murr says this was engraved by Hans Guldenmund. B. App. 33.

88. *Philosophy*, represented as a queen on a throne; in her right hand a book, in her left a sceptre. This appeared in Conrad Celtes' book, 'Protucii: Quatuor Libri Amorum, 1502, Noribergæ;' and afterwards in other books. Durer was certainly associated with Celtes in other matters. Bartsch accepted this as Durer's. B. 130.

89–93. Five Designs, to illustrate the Six Comedies of Roswitha the Nun. Edited by Conrad Celtes, and published in Nurnberg,

1501. 'Opera Hroswitha illustris virginis et monialis Germane gente Saxonica orta nuper a Conrado Celte inventa.' These Comedies are in Latin, and resemble Terence, and were just then brought to light and published as the work of Roswitha, abbess of Gandersheim, in the north of Germany. For pure latinity and laxity of morals they were the wonder of the age and of many learned men down to the present time, when the subject has been thoroughly investigated, and an entirely new conclusion respecting their authorship arrived at. It is now very nearly certain that they were the production of Conrad Celtes. It is a pity we cannot accept the illustrations as the work of Durer; yet it is difficult to attribute them to any known artist of the day.

94. *Cardinal on a Horse.*

95. *The Cobbler, the Priest, and his Cook.*

96. *The Fool.* (In Hauer's list.)

97. *An Old Woman cajoles a Man.*—Durer's monogram on the man's purse.

98. *The Old Man with a Woman.* (In Hauer's list.)

99. *The Woman and Death.*—An interior: a young naked woman lies in a bed, a flower in one hand and a fan in the other. Death approaches with a sword. Durer's monogram appears below. (In Passavant's list of additions.)

100–111. *The Months.*—The Twelve Months; small designs for a calendar. (In Hauer's list.)

112. *Conrad Celtes, presenting his Book of Roswitha's Comedies to the Elector Frederick of Saxony.*—This is a design in the opera Hroswitha, 1501, on the back of the titlepage.

113. *Celtes presenting his Book to Kaiser Maxmilian*, 1502.

114. *Kaiser Max, and Louis of Bavaria under a Portal*, 1515. (Passavant's list.)

115. *John Teuschlein, presenting his Book to the Bishop of Wurtzburg.*—This is a good engraving, and appeared in a book by Dr. J. Teuschlein. At the end of the book is this announce-

ment 'Impressum sumptibus et expensis Jo. Kobergers. In officina Friderici Peypus, Nurembergensium civium, 1517.' It appears also on back of the title-border mentioned in the authentic works of our master, No 157.

116. *Roswitha, the Nun of Gandersheim, presenting her book to Kaiser Otto II.*—She kneels to the Emperor, in her nun's habit. This is in the opera Roswitha.

117. *The Printers.*—Three men employed in the work of the press, dated 1520.

118. *Another.*

119–123. *Five Designs, Tournaments.*—1st. Two knights on horseback rush together unhorsing each other. 2nd. Two knights also in collisiõn, or, rather, one is down, and the other lifted up with the concussion. 3rd. Two knights, again in fight; one falls over his horse with his feet in the air and his head down. 4th. Two knights, separated by lists, have met in force, the lances being shivered, the knights bent out of the saddle. 5th. Two knights fighting on foot with daggers. B. App. 36. 37.

124. *The Torch Dance.*—Three masked gentlemen dance with three ladies in a circle. On the left are two men holding torches, and one on the right. B. App. 38.

125. *Basrelief with Two Marine Centaurs.* (Passavant's list.)

126. *Large Basrelief with Vine*, in which are two satyrs, two women, two children, and two birds. (Passavant's list; called by him Design for Tapestry, in two sheets.)

127. *A Dragon.*—He draws after him the signs of the heavenly bodies, and his belly is decorated with a mathematical emblem. B. App. 40. (Passavant's list.)

128–130. *Three Horoscopes of Stabius.*—1st. Horoscopion omni generaliter congruens climati, 1512. 2nd. Horoscopium omni generaliter congruens climati. 3rd. Horoscopion universale pro multiplici diversarum gentium ritu, diei noctisque horas et mo-

menta distinguens. These are decorated with shields of arms, and the last and first with angels.

131. *Another Stabian Mystery* (Culminatorium fixarum).

132. *Mappa Mundi*, 1515. (Passavant's list.)

133. *The Sundial.*—At the top, between two lines, 'Gegen dem Nidergang Auf. 49. Grad.'

134. *An ornamental Title with Adam and Eve.*—This is the titlepage to 'Chronica aus der Heil. Schrift.' On one side Adam, on the other Eve. Below Adam, Death is seen seizing an infant. Under Eve, the Resurrection.

135. *Title, with the Resurrection of Christ.*

136. *Title*, 'In festo omnium Sanctorum.'

137. *Title, with Genii and Shields* ('Tabulæ de Schematibus,' &c. 1511).

138. *Title, with Four Angels*, of whom two blow trumpets.

139. *Title Border, with Two Satyrs in Chains.*

## *Heraldry.*

140. *Five Shields with the Bearings of the Emperor*, 1504. B. 158.

141. *Arms of Ferdinand, King of Hungary and Bohemia*, 1527. (Passavant's list.)

142. ,, *the Archduke Charles.*

143. ,, *Bavaria.*

144. ,, *the Family of Beham and another unknown.* B. App. 57.

145. ,, *Ægidius v. Berlichingen.* B. App. 44.

146. ,, *the Margraf of Brandenburg.*

147. ,, *Don Pedro Lasco de Castilia.* (Passavant's list.)

148. ,, *Gabriel von Eyb, Bishop of Erchstädt*, 1525. B. App. 46.

149. ,, *Another.* B. App. 47.

150. *Arms of John Fernberger von Egenburg.* B. App. 48.
151. „ *Dr. Johann Gartgeb.* B. App. 49.
152. „ *(Geundherrisches.)*
153. „ *the Haller Family of Nurnberg.* B. App. 50.
154. „ *Bartholomew Keyzer.*
155. „ *Hans Löffelholtz von Kolberg.*
156. „ *Martin Löffelholtz.*
157. „ *Ochsenfelder.*
158. „ *Grafen Gabriel of Ortenburg, Freiherrn of Freistain and Carlespag.* B. App. 51.
159. „ *Degenhard Pfeffinger.*
160. „ *the Pfinzings.*
161. „ *the Pirkheimers and Rieters.*—Pirkheimer's shield shows the punning heraldry of the time—a birch tree (a *pirke* or *birke*); that of Rieter, two fishes twisted. Behind the shields are two angels. There is much more in the design not necessary to describe. What makes it interesting is the inscription, '*Liber Bilibald Pirkheimer*;' and below, '*Sibi et amicis P.*' Pirkheimer married Crescentia Rieter in 1497, and this seems to be a label for his books although rather large. B. App. 52. (Passavant's list.) This may be the earliest evidence of an acquaintance between Pirkheimer and Durer.
162. *Arms of Hector Pomer, Provost of S. Laurence in Nurnberg.* B. App. 53.
163. „ *the Pomer Family.*
164. „ *the Rehm Family*, 1526. B. App. 54.
165. „ *John Revelles, Bishop of Vienne*, 1524. B. App. 55.
166. „ *the Family of Rothenhan.*
167. „ *Hartmann Schedels.*
168. „ *Scheuerl and Tucher Family*, supported by a woman with flying hair. (Passavant's list.)
169. „ *same Families*, supported by a woman with a plume of feathers.

170. *Arms of John Segger of Messnpach.* B. App. 56. (Passavant's list.)
171. „ *Lazarus Spengler, Council Clerk in Nurnberg.* B. App. 58.
172. „ *with Griffin and Stag.*
173. „ *Florian Waldauf.*
174. „ *with a Crown.* B. App. 61.
175. „ *with an Eagle, a Griffin, and Lamb.*
176. „ *with Two Wings on the Helmet.* B. App. 60.
177. „ *with a Cock.*
178. „ *with Two Lions, a Key, and a Sword.*
179. „ *with a Leopard.*
180. „ *with wild Pig.* B. App. 59.
181. „ *with a Tower.* B. App. 62.

## *Portraits.*

182. *Emperor Maximilian.*—A small print.

183. *Emperor Charles V.*, 1519.—Durer was appointed court painter to Charles V. in the following year when in the Low Countries, but never seems to have received any commissions. It is not likely that he would have done an undistinguished portrait. B. App. 41.

184. Another of *Charles V.*; smaller in size. B. App. 42.

185. Another of *Charles V.* in a medallion; small.

186. *Kaiser Ferdinand II.*

187. *Ludwig, King of Hungary.*—Medallion.

188. *Maria, Queen of Hungary.*—Ditto.

189. *Maria, Queen of Castile*, 1519.

190. *Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony*, 1519.

191. *Ditto* *Ditto.*

192. *Duke George of Saxony.*

193. *Eoben Hess.* (Passavant's list.) Passavant mentions that on the back are epigrams on the artist as well as poet:

In imaginem Eobani Hess, sui ab Alberto Durero hujus ætatis Apelle graphice expressam, &c.

194. *Graf Gabriel of Ortenburg.*

195. *Presbiter Antonius.*

196. *Dr. Christopher Scheurl.*

197. *John von Schwarzenberg.*—A medallion. This is a small portrait. This has generally passed as Durer's. There is a copy on copper by Professor Christ, an authority, inscribed 'Io. Schwartzenbergici verissima imago, Alberti Dureri, pictoris inter Germanicos facile principis, opus.' Dibdin engraved it in his Biblio. Decameron. B. 157.

198. An unknown *Portrait* with the arms of Saxony, with Durer's monogram.

199. Another *Male Portrait*, unknown, with Durer's monogram.

## *Works attributed falsely to Durer.*

A series of thirty-eight small woodcuts of the *Fall and Redemption*. These were published in 1604 with this title: 'Alberti Dureri Noriberg. Germ. Icones Sacræ, &c.' These are copies after Altdorfer.

A series of the *Apostles*, twelve in number, with Durer's monogram.

*S. Stephen with Two Bishops.*

*The Witches.*—Some sit on the ground, one prepares herself for the dance which goes on in the background. Durer's monogram and date 1510. B. App. 35.

This list of doubtful pieces is long. The major part will always remain more than doubtful, but the reader may still find great interest in the catalogue, so curious in some of its items.

As we have adopted Heller's enumeration as the most complete, we have marked in the above list those Passavant considers really done by the master. A few in his list of 'Additions to Bartsch' were already given as genuine in Heller; the few remaining not yet mentioned are the following:

## *Passavant's Additions to Durer's Engravings on Wood, not mentioned already.*

The numbers he gives are intended to be supplementary to those of Bartsch.

176. *Deposition from the Cross.*

194. *The Celestial Revelations of S. Bridget.*—Printed by Anthony Koberger, Nurnberg. Passavant says, one finds evidence in the invention and characteristic expression of the hand of a master, and that master, Durer. He does not seem, however, to have even drawn the designs on the wood, and they are very badly cut. The first edition is in Latin, 1500. There are eighteen cuts, or sheets of cuts, in this work; some of them armorial, others, *S. Bridget*, *Christ on the Cross*, &c. The second edition, 1502.

195. *A Figure of Justice.*

196. *A Gardener, in a Garden.*—He holds a vase.

198. *The Man Suffering under Disease.*—This is on a leaf issued with a Latin poem by Dr. Theodore Alsenius. It represents a man covered by a mantle. Near the head the arms of Nurnberg, at his feet a shield with the sun upon it. Above him is a celestial sphere with the date 1484, the date at which the disease, then puzzling the medical world, and called 'Le Mal de Naples,' appeared. It was brought first to Nurnberg in 1494, and three years after there is a record of a certain doctor acquiring a prescriptive right to treat it because of the number of his cures. This is supposed to have been Ulsenius. The drawing of the figure

is said by Passavant to be certainly Durer's. There is an allusion to the subject of the print in his letters to Pirkheimer from Venice. It was not then understood. (For the early history of this disease, in which bishops and other dignitaries play a considerable part, see a very interesting monograph by Sir J. Simpson of Edinburgh.)

199. *The Owl.*—A print, with verses under it. As this is given exclusively on Passavant's authority, I have not translated the verses.

202. *The Armillary Sphere.*

208. *Marine Centaurs winged.*

209. *Ditto*, on a black ground.

215. *Arms of Wilhelm Löffelholtz.*

The number of wood engravings thus supposed to be Durer's in design or drawing, or falsely attributed to him by the adhibition of his monogram, is altogether 261. It is quite possible that the master had some supervision of nearly the whole of them, although he may never have touched them with his own hand. The difficulty in accounting for the time and practice of his numerous pupils, seeing that his own authentic engravings appear entirely done by himself, may be solved by the supposition that many things coming to him in an occasional manner, in the way of trade, were consigned to his assistants. Not only the artists already mentioned as 'Little Masters' were his pupils, but Hans Burgkmair, Hans Schäufflein, Martin Grünewald, and others known exclusively by wood engravings, are said to have proceeded from his workshop. Springinklee also was a designer for wood, and we are certain he laboured many years in Durer's service, as did the master's younger brothers, Hans and Andrew.

# IV.

## CATALOGUE OF ALBERT DURER'S WORKS.

### *Pictures.*

ARRANGED according to the localities where the pictures are or were to be seen. The catalogue of Heller has been followed, who wrote in 1827. Many pictures, however, mentioned by him have been omitted, as he enumerates copies, and every picture reported to have existed in former times. Where the works have changed their localities within the knowledge of the writer, such change has been recorded. That even all those pictures accredited as genuine works of Durer's hand, small as the number is compared to the number ascribed to him, are really his work, I by no means venture to assert. Probably the number of paintings finished by Durer was not very great. He says himself that he could make much more money when he engraved. At the same time the industry and celerity of this great master must have allowed plenty of time for all the pictures attributed to him.

### *Aachen.*

Eleven pictures in the gallery of Leopold Fr. von Bettendorf, 1822.

1. *The Flight into Egypt.*

2. *Christ parting from His Mother*, dated 1525.—A very rich composition of twenty-two figures, including the two side pieces or wings.

3. *Descent from the Cross*, dated 1505, or 1525.

4. *The Trinity.*—A small picture similar in design to the large one in Vienna.

5. *S. Jerome in his Study.*—Similar composition to the copper engraving.

6. *S. Jerome*, dated 1527.—A work Heller reports to be in an able and great style.

7, 8. *SS. Anthony and John*, with landscape background.—The two wings to an unknown picture.

9, 10. Two other wings: *The Visitation of Elizabeth*, and *The Offering in the Temple.*

11. *Boaz*, in a landscape with other figures, herds and flocks. This is an endless variety of objects, all painted with extraordinary care: gilding occasionally used.

*Anspach.*

In the Collection of Private Secretary (Kammers-Sekretärs) Hartmann (1816).

1. *S. Simon*, with the saw in his hand, on which is the monogram of the master.

2. *S. Luke*, sitting at a table writing in a great book. Both pictures are on wood. These were publicly sold in that year. Heller says we must suppose them copies; but at the same time he says a work by Raphael sold at the same sale for 176 fl. 30 kr. What became of the Durers he does not say.

*Antwerp.*

In his Journal, Durer mentions a number of pictures left here.

1. *The Virgin.*—He gave a picture of this subject to his landlord, Jobst Plankfelt.

2. *Portrait of his Landlady.*

3. *S. Veronica.*—Given to Bonisius.

4, 5. *S. Veronica, and a Child's Head.*—Two pictures he gave Signor Franciscus.

6. *Portrait of the Wife of Franciscus.*

7. *S. Jerome.*—Painted for Roderigo.

8. *Portrait of the Treasurer Sterk.*—Painted in oil, which was paid at 20 fl.

All these pictures are now unknown. In the church of the Beguines, there was an *Adoration of the Shepherds*; but this subject is not mentioned in the Journal, and the picture has been attributed also to Johann von Gref.

*Aschaffenburg.*

In the Gallery of the Castle, 1822, *Durer's own Portrait.*—Considered genuine.

*Augsburg.*

In the Gallery of the Rathhaus, 1822.

1. *The Madonna praying.*—Half length, the size of life; on wood.

2. *The Virgin and Child.*—On parchment, painted in oils. These two pictures are declared true pictures of the master in the catalogue by the director, J. G. Gündter.

3. An *Ecce Homo.*

4. *Portrait of Maximilian*, in water colours.—These two pictures are now considered not by Durer, but the latter is probably by Von Amberger.

In the Collection of Johann G. Deuringer.

1. *The Trinity.*—A large and admirable picture on wood. An *ex voto* picture, two shields of arms representing the family for whom it was painted. It has Durer's monogram, and the date 1523. It has been engraved at the instance of the possessor.

2. *The Head of Christ with the Crown of Thorns*, with the monogram.—On wood. The catalogue of this Collection speaks of this head as a great work, the expression of the Saviour's face being full of tenderness and suffering.

3. *Two Fathers of the Church:* with Durer's monogram, and date 1492.—On wood. This picture was discovered in Russia, and bought for 60 carolin.

In the Collection of George Christoph Kilian. On the authority of Murr, 'Journal,' iv. 20, 1777, there was then a *Portrait of Durer*, by himself. We have no account of it since that date.

*Baruth, Prussia.*

In the Collection of Privy Councillor von Lindenfels were some reputed pictures by Durer; in particular a fragment, which Huber (1789) calls a Vestal. This collection was sold and carried to Frankfort.

In the Collection of the architect Riedel, 1822.

1. *A naked Female Figure*, with a thin gauze scarf.

2. *A Christ on Ivory.*—These two have been repeatedly pronounced the work of the master.

*Bamberg.*

In the (Pfarkirk) Church of our Lady, 1822, were four pictures on wood, painted from Durer's designs in the Life of the Virgin —*The Visitation, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Flight into Egypt.* These are painted by Paul Juvenel, 1614.

In the Church of S. Jacob there were, in 1821, *SS. Peter, John, Mark, and Paul.* These are copied from the fine pictures now in Munich. And Leonard Ohlmüller had a reputed picture, the Virgin and Child at the foot of a tree, which is, however, a copy from the copper engraving, painted on wood.

Murr, in his 'Journal,' xiv. 132, 1787, mentions with great commendation a picture of *Adam and Eve*, the size of life, as then existing at Bamberg. This picture he describes as a work of wonderful finish, Adam standing with the apple in his hand, Eve

lying on the ground, a deer beside her. Where this remarkable picture now is, may be highly worthy of inquiry, if the account was not published for purposes of sale. The two figures were on two separate panels.

*Banz.*

Principality of Bamberg, 1797. In the old Benedictine abbey was an altarpiece, with wings, of the *Virgin Mary*, with her mother Anna sitting, the Holy Child in her lap, God the Father appearing above, and the Holy Ghost above the infant Christ.

The other picture, formerly the two wings, is painted on both sides. On one side are *SS. Barbara and Katharine* with their symbols, the angel Gabriel and the Virgin on the back. Over the angel are the words, *Ave Gra. plena*, *Dñs tecum*, and over the Virgin, *Ancilla Dñi*, *fiat ñ secundum verbũ tuum*. This is the two wings joined together after the altar was discontinued, and the picture sold. The possessor, P. Joh. Roppelt, died in 1814, and the altarpiece, now two pictures, disappeared. There is some doubt as to its having been by Durer at all.

*Berlin.*

In the Royal Collection, 1790. *Portrait of Young Lady.*—Her hands are folded together. A fair amiable face, with a hat and a caul for the hair (*Haarhaube*), a string of pearls round her neck, and other jewellery about her person. On wood, small, highly finished.

In the Justinian Gallery. *Pilate Washing his Hands: before him Christ is standing.*—On wood, two feet and a half high.

In the Royal Art and Natural History Cabinet. *Frederick, brother of Johan, Elector of Brandenburg.*

In the collection of Consul Dehn, 1821. *A Holy Family: Mary and Anna*, 1519.—On wood. This picture came from the

cabinet of Herr Praun, and has been engraved on copper by Prestel. Painted on wood, nearly two feet six inches high.

In Herr Stobasser's Collection, 1821. *Durer's Portrait*, the head only, on wood; also from the Praun Collection.

*Besançon.*

In the palace of the Cardinal Granvellano, in 1650, were two pictures by Durer, mentioned by Hauer (100, N. 6).

*Blankenburg.*

In the gallery of the castle, 1817. 1. *Entering the Cloister.*—A picture not otherwise described, signed with the monogram and date 1520. Very much injured.

2. *Christ Teaching in the Temple.*—Painted on wood, and signed A.D. 1527.

3. *Virgin and Child.*—Before the group stands a damsel in the attitude of prayer. Signed with the date 1519. A very fine work in colour and careful finish.

*St. Blasien, Swabia.*

In the old princely abbey in 1795, as reported by Hirsching and Huber, was a picture of *Mary sitting on a Stone*, with the Holy Child on her lap, two angels crowning her. Present locality not known.

*Bologna.*

In the cloister of S. Giovanni in Monte, Huber reports the existence of a picture of the *Virgin*, by Durer. And in the Dominican abbey (Del Bosco), in the prior's apartment, in 1730, were pictures of the *Life of Christ*, with multitudes of figures so small that a magnifying glass was necessary to examine them. They were reported to have cost 1100 sequins; but both the pictures and the price are doubtful.

*Breslau.*

It will be remembered the Bishop of Breslau bought a picture of the *Virgin* from Durer, as related at p. 69. This picture does not now exist at Breslau, and is one of the many lost pictures by the master.

In Breslau, in 1741, in the Hopfeldischen House, were two Durer pictures:

1. *An Ecce Homo*, with two other figures, 1512.—A small picture.

2. *The Head of S. John.*

And at this time a large collection of Durer's engravings, both on copper and wood, belonging to John G. Pauli, consisting of 836 sheets, was sold for 400 florins.

*Brussels.*

In the Museum des Departments de la Dyle (so given in Heller), in 1811. *A God the Father*, in a rich garment and crown, supporting the dead body of our Lord in his lap. Angels on either side. A very beautiful work.

In the Stadtholder's Gallery, in 1780, was placed a fine head of an *Old Man*, afterwards removed to Paris by Napoleon. It was returned after the Peace, but from that time nothing is known of it. (See *Hague.*)

In the collection of Rath von Burtin, 1814 (Huber, ii. 422; Fiorillo, ii. 38):

1. *An Ecce Homo.*

2. *The Little Financier.*

3. *The Portrait of a Young Lady of Nurnberg.*—This is now in the possession of Max. Speck, merchant, in Leipsig.

4. *The Knight, with Death and the Devil.*—The composition of this painting is that of the engraving. Nothing more interesting could be found than a true painting of this subject from the hand of the master. Whether this is so, can only be judged by close

examination; but it is scarcely possible that such a priceless treasure could exist without all the world knowing it. The proprietor has, indeed, written an account of the picture, with Fiorillo, as reported by Heller, to indorse his opinion of the work. He expresses wonder that this, one of the masterpieces of the father of German art, is only known to so few, and in his description identifies the Knight with the Baron von Sickingen. The figures are eighteen German inches high. In the Singers' Festival in 1818 (Sängersfahrt) was sung a poem of nine verses on this picture. It is, however, next to certain, that no picture of Albert Durer quite resembling any of the engravings from his hand exists. S. Hubert, S. Jerome, and others, are all by other hands copied from the prints. The same may be said of the Knight of Death.

*Carlsruhe.*

In the court collection of engravings, in 1792, there existed a picture by Durer, as Huber and Hirsching report, the subject being a half-length *Portrait of a Priest.*

*Cassel.*

In the Picture Gallery, in 1783, were three pictures:

1. *Christ appearing to Mary Magdalen in the Garden.*

2. *Portrait of a Man having a Hat on his Head, and a Rosary in his Hand.*—On wood, small.

3. *Portrait of a Man in an old Switzer Dress.*

*Coblenz.*

In the collection of Mathieu (notary), 1822. *Job in his Affliction.*—A good work, dated 1513.

*Colmar.*

In the Town Library. An altarpiece with wings. Painted with various pictures, *S. Anthony* being the saint celebrated, who

appears in the principal subjects. Outside the wings are groups of the *Virgin and Child* and *Virgin in Heaven.* The picture was originally in the church of the cloister of S. Anthony.

*Cologne.*

In the church of S. Mary of the Capitol, 1822. An altarpiece. On one side the *Death of the Virgin*, on the other the *Departing of the Apostles.*—Very uncertain. Large. On wood.

*Copenhagen.*

In the Royal Gallery. Ramdohr (Studien, 131) mentions in 1792 an original and fine portrait of *Durer.*

*Dantzig.*

In the collection of Schwarz, burgomaster (on the authority of Huber, i. 190, and Hirsching, ii. 109), were two pictures by Durer:

1. *A Young Woman*, dated 1512.
2. Another similar picture, dated 1505.—On wood.

On the death of Schwarz in 17—, his sister-in-law, who came into possession of his pictures, dispersed them, and no account of these two pictures can now be found.

*Dessau.*

In the Ducal Gallery, 1822. Four pictures:

1. *Portrait of a Man with a Beard.*—Dark clothes and cap; on his breast the chain of the Golden Fleece. A very excellent work.
2. *S. Christopher with the Infant Christ on his Shoulder.*
3. *SS. Peter and John, with the Lamb.*
4. *John the Baptist with the Lamb on his Knees.*—The figures in both these last mentioned are five inches in height. These are considered truly the work of the master: there are besides others in the manner and with the monogram of Durer.

*Dresden.*

In the Royal Picture Gallery, 1822. Five pictures:

1. *Christ with the Crown of Thorns, sitting on a Stone with Folded Hands.*—On wood, two feet in height.

2. *Christ Bearing the Cross.*—On wood, about one foot and a half high by two and a half in length.

3. *S. Jerome with a Skull in his Hand.*—On wood.

4. *Portrait of Ulrich Zwinglius, without a Beard.*—In black dress and hat, on wood. This picture is not given as Durer's in the catalogue of the Dresden Gallery, but as unknown, with resemblance to Lucas of Leyden.

5. *Death of the Virgin.*—On copper. This is catalogued since 1819, as after Durer, by a contemporary painter.

Besides these, in the old catalogue of the gallery, by Von Ridel, 1771, are two others: 1. *A small Altar with Wings*: the centre picture being the Virgin and Child, with a Gothic church as a background; the two wings being SS. Catherine and Michael. This is now entered as by an early German master unknown. 2. *The Adoration of the Magi*, nearly nine feet in height, on wood.

In the Private Royal Gallery is a series of eight or ten small pictures of the *Passion*, which were popularly considered Durer's. These, Heller says, the best judges hold to be most probably by Wolgemuth. If this were proved, they would be sufficiently interesting.

## *England.*

Under this head I shall extract all the pictures mentioned in Heller's list under their several heads, with those in Passavant, as quoted by Nagler in his catalogue of Durer's works, 'A. Dürer und seine Kunst,' 1837: also such as are elsewhere mentioned.

Bath House, Piccadilly, Lord Ashburton. A small picture, *Portrait of an unknown Man in Armour.*

Burleigh House, seat of the Marquis of Exeter. A picture of *S. Eustachius.* (Huber, i. 204; Heller, 148.) If this composition is that of the engraving usually called S. Hubert, it will be a copy from the print, Durer never having painted the same composition he engraved as far as I know.

Buckingham Palace, in the Queen's Gallery. An altarpiece in three parts, which formerly belonged to Charles I., and is described in James II.'s catalogue as '*Our Lady, with Christ in her Lap*, with a coronet on her head; two fryers by them; and two doors.' Mrs. Jameson has given a full account of this work in her 'Companion to Private Picture Galleries,' p. 23.

Broughton Hall. A good old German picture, ascribed to Durer, is declared by Passavant not to be from his hand.

Cambridge, in the Fitzwilliam Museum. An *Annunciation*, with Durer's name attached to it, is also declared by Passavant to be erroneously ascribed. Hauer (102, 26), quoted by Heller, mentions a *S. Mark* by Durer as existing in Cambridge.

Chatsworth, in the Duke of Devonshire's collection. A *Young and an Old Woman in a Bath.*—A drawing in pen and ink. Heller, p. 76.

Kensington Palace. A *Portrait of a Young Man*, in half length. This Passavant considers the only certain work of Durer he saw in England ('Kunstreise,' 50). (Nagler, 77.)

Hampton Court Palace. A *Portrait of a Youth* (303), and a *S. Jerome* (563): neither genuine (?).

Howard Castle, Lord Carlisle. Three pictures: *Vulcan; Adam and Eve; Abraham and Isaac.* (Huber, i. 204; Nagler, 177.)

London, in the possession of Mr. Wynn Ellis. 1. *Portrait of Catherine Fürleger*, 1497; her hair plaited up, her hands resting on a sort of window-sill.—Half length. This admirable picture was engraved by Hollar, when in the collection of Lord Arundel, in 1646. In Heller's list it appears as belonging, at the date of his

publication, to Herr Speck in Leipsig. Mr. Ellis purchased the picture from the well-known dealer Mr. T. B. Brown.

2. A small picture of the *Virgin and Child* seated in a landscape, with many animals and birds. This is the same composition as the well-known engraving by Sadeler, and we think the painting belongs to the same date.

In Lord Arundel's great collection, unfortunately dispersed about the same time as that of Charles I., were four pictures by Durer:

1. This portrait of Catherine Fürleger.

2. The same young lady, her hair spread out all over her shoulders, her hands in the attitude of prayer, 1497. Where this beautiful work now is, if it still exists, is unknown. Both of these pictures are well known by the admirable etchings by Hollar.

3. *Portrait of Himself*, 1498.—Now in the Uffizi. (See *Florence.*)

4. *Portrait of his Father*, 1497.

Nagler, under the head of London, mentions two beautiful drawings, in pen and ink, in the New Palace. The reader must take this unexplained reference as I find it. (Nagler, 78.)

Longford Castle. *Madonna and Child on a Throne*, surrounded by Angels.—This picture Passavant attributes to Lucas of Leyden.

Milton House, Lord Pembroke. On the authority of Huber, (i. 204), *a Taking Down from the Cross* is mentioned by Heller as the work of Durer.

New Battle House, Edinburgh. Marquis of Lothian. *Virgin and Child with Four Angels.*—The angels are crowning the Virgin with roses. A true and important picture. The treatment of the figure of the Virgin and of the design of the picture is somewhat in the manner of Bellini, and the inscription

ALBERTO DURER, GERM . . . .
FACIEBAT POST VIRGINIS PARTUM 1506.

is written on a counterfeited label after the manner of Bellini. The panel is also said to be Italian. These circumstances with the date prove beyond doubt that the picture was painted in Venice. The particular work he mentions in his letters from that city, done for the Germans there, has been always represented as the *S. Bartholomew*, now at Prague; but he speaks of other works, and especially mentions that Gian Bellini wished to have a picture from his hand; perhaps this is the very painting done for the great Venetian, then of patriarchal years, but still in vigour.*

Sion House. Portrait of Albert Durer, goldsmith, father of the painter. Presumably the picture formerly in the Arundel collection. Engraved by Hollar.

Stow. A picture mentioned by Huber (ii. 204) and Nagler (245), under the name of the *Maid of Orleans*.—A manifest fallacy.

Sutherland Gallery. A small painting on copper of the *Death of the Virgin*.—Described by Mrs. Jameson, p. 204.

Windsor, in the Castle. A *Portrait of Bilibald Pirkheimer* (Heller, p. 263), without description or reference.

National Gallery, London. *Portrait of a Senator*, No. 245.

* This picture was bought by the marquis in a furniture-shop in Edinburgh, when it was said to have been taken out of Holyrood Palace with other effects belonging to some rooms Lord Buchan formerly had there. It is at present in the hands of Mr. Merritt, Devonshire Street, London, for cleaning. Mr. F. Madox Brown writes regarding it to the author:—'The colour is everywhere a mere wash and *too* transparent. The picture seems to me just such a work as Durer would produce under the circumstances; the treatment intended to suit Italian tastes and vie with them.' 'Wings, flowers, and parts of drapery delicately painted, a skilfully balanced composition, a power of drawing of the right kind, thoroughly imbued with the beauty of nature *as drawing*, though full of such small defects as pertain to the method, the outline being drawn on gesso from a cartoon, and no alterations or attempts at improvements made.'

An old man with grey beard, in a purple robe with fur collar, and a cap on his head, and on his neck a chain and order. The background is plain blue. The picture is signed with the monogram, and dated 1514. 1 ft. 11½ in. by 1 ft. 7 in. Purchased in 1854 at the sale of M. Joly de Bammeville. Not a good example.

*Eichstädt.*

In the Frauenkirche there was a picture by Durer of the *Trinity*, mentioned by Huber and Hirsching, in 1789. This was carried off and lost in 1804.

*Florence.*

In the 'Imperial' (Uffizi?) Gallery, according to Heller, 1827, are no fewer than fourteen pictures by Durer, or credited to him:

1. *Adam and Eve* (properly two pictures), more probably by Lucas Cranach.
2. *The Birth of Christ.*
3. *The Adoration of the Magi.*
4. *The Agony in the Garden.*
5. *The Betrayal of Christ.*
6. *Ecce Homo*, from a former Medici Gallery.
7. *A Calvary*, 1505.—An astonishing composition, with many groups and figures, showing various successive acts in the great drama of the Crucifixion. This picture is upright. It was very well engraved by Matham the same size: the picture is small, the figures being like miniatures in size and finish.
8. *The Body of our Lord in the Hands of his Disciples.*
9. *The Virgin and Child.* Doubtful.
10. *The Head of S. Philip*, with monogram and date 1516.
11. *S. James, with long Beard*, 1516.
12. *Portrait of Himself.*—A beautiful and noble work. On the background is written:

1498.
DAS MACHT ICH NACH MEINER GESTALT.
ICH WAS SEX UND ZWANTZIG YAR ALT.
ALBRECHT DÜRER.

He has the long waving brown hair; is in a whitish dress, with gloves on his hands. It has been engraved by Hollar and Preisler.

13. *Portrait of his Father.*

14. *Portrait of a Man with a Rosary.*

On referring to the catalogue of the Uffizi, I can find only five of these pictures mentioned. The portrait of Durer himself, however, occurs in the collection of portraits of artists, and the *Adam and Eve* seems to have been removed to the Pitti. The five in the catalogue are *Virgin and Child* (9); *SS. Philip and James* (10, 11); *Portrait with a Chaplet* (14), said to be Durer's father, thus making one picture of the last two in Heller's list as above, and the *Adoration of the Magi* (3), which is in the Tribune. *The Calvary*, one of Durer's most elaborate works, which was (or is) enclosed in a case, and which is well known from Matham's engraving, does not appear in the catalogue of either Uffizi or Pitti (1832).

*Frankfort.*

In the Predigerkirche, in 1612, was a picture of the *Assumption of the Virgin*, 1509.—This was the church of the Dominicans, and the picture was a source of revenue merely by the payments of visitors, as no one ever visited Frankfort without seeing this picture, which was celebrated all over Germany, particularly by the painting of the splendours of angels' hair, and, strange to say, by the curiously perfect painting of the sole of the foot of a kneeling apostle. Durer himself mentions the picture. He painted it with great care after his return from Venice, going over it repeatedly, and at last varnishing it himself. It seems, indeed,

from the great attention paid to it by the people, and from the extraordinary eulogiums of Carl von Mander and Sandrart, the last of whom lived at the time the picture was gained (after great competition with the Emperor Rudolph II. and others) by Maximilian I. of Bavaria, and carried to Munich, to have been the *chef d'œuvre* of the master. This particular incident in Romish mythology, *the Assumption and Crowning of the Virgin by the Trinity*, is admirably treated by him in the wood engraving.

In 1613, Maximilian, by some means now unknown, got possession of this picture, and returned the Dominicans a copy by Paul Juvenel, which, it appears, still may be seen. Rudolph II. had offered 10,000 florins, how much Maximilian gave is not known. Durer himself received 200 florins for the picture, and is recorded to have been so careful about the colours he used, that he gave 12 ducats an ounce for ultramarine to be used in the execution. In the fire that destroyed the Residenz at Munich, Durer's work perished.

In the Museum, the copy by Paul Juvenel is to be seen, and also a genuine work by the master.

*Fourteen Saints.*—One of the earliest of Durer's paintings, on wood. Dame Gutze von Hering had this picture done, and presented it to the Dominicans, 3 ft. high by 3 ft. 4 in.

In Post-Secretary Chandel's collection. 1. *The Mocking of our Lord.*—On wood.

2. *Christ on the Cross.*—On wood. Full of figures. With Durer's monogram.

3. *The Nativity.*

4. On the back of the last is also a picture, a *S. Hubert*, not as in the engraving, but quite a different composition. These are on wood, thirty-six inches by twenty-five.

5. *Mater Dolorosa.*—With white head-gear, in attitude of prayer.

In Carl Friedrich Wendelstadt's collection. A very fine pic-

ture of the *Ecce Homo*, wearing the crown of thorns and mantle. —A small highly finished picture on wood.

*Furth, near Nurnberg.*

In Joh. G. Zapf's collection, 1815. 1. *Female Portrait*, with date 1520 and monogram.

2. *Portrait of an Old bearded Man in a Fur Cap.*

3. *A Head of Christ.*

4. *Ecce Homo.*—All these are more than doubtful, as it appears Herr Zapf was the prey of dealers.

*Gera.*

In the castle of this place, in 1769, was a *Lot and his Daughters*, with Durer's monogram and date, 1511.

*Gotha.*

In the Duke's private gallery, 1789, was, and perhaps is still, a *Portrait of a Prince of Saxony.*

*Göttingen.*

In the University Picture Gallery, 1805. *A Head of Christ with Crown of Thorns*, with date and initials; thus, 15 A. D. 14.

*Gratz.*

In the collection of Herr Ständ, 1821. *Virgin and Child.*—On wood.

*Greifswalde.*

In the possession of Professor Schildener. A small picture of *Christ resting on the Cross*, in a landscape.

*At the Hague.* (Stadtholder's Cabinet.)

A portrait of *Laurence Coster*, so called. This claimant of the invention of printing lived too early to have been painted by

Durer. This picture is supposed by Heller to be the same mentioned as having been at Brussels and Paris.

*Halle.*

In the collection of Dr. Adam Weise, 1819. *Portrait of Durer*, with a white cap on his head.—This is engraved in Dr. Weise's 'Dürer und sein Zeitalter.' It is a three-quarter face with long hair, with monogram and date, 1503, consequently at the age of thirty-two.

*Hamburg.*

In the collection of Herr Bundsen, painter, 1820. *A Head of Christ.*—This has been published in lithograph as Durer's, but is not by any means certainly his.

In the collection of I. G. Herold, 1822. *A Taking Down from the Cross.*—Uncertain.

In the collection of H. Schwalbe, 1778. On the authority of a catalogue published at Leipsig, 1779. Firstly, *The Adoration of the Magi.* Secondly, *Head of Christ*, with hand raised. Thirdly, *The Virgin*, with clasped hands. All on wood.

*Heidelberg.*

In the castle in 1679, Sandrart mentions a portrait of the *Elector Friedrich II.* with the date 1522, as one of the most skilful and highly finished works of the master.

*Kiel.*

In the collection of the lawyer Friedrich Schmidt, 1795:

1. *The Adoration of the Magi.*
2. *Christ with the Crown of Thorns.*—On wood.
3. *Mary with the dead Body of our Lord in her Lap.*—On wood.
4. *Virgin and Child.*
5. The same subject differently treated.

Schmidt's collection appears to have been a miscellaneous mass of about 1,000 pictures. Many by unknown hands, but with names affixed by the possessor. They were sold by auction, September 1822 and March 1823.

*Leipsig.*

In collection of the Burgomaster Adlershelm, 1650. On the authority of Hauer, *The Murder of the Innocents.*

In collection of the Consul-General Campe, 1821. *Adam and Eve.*

There is a record of the destruction of a picture of Durer's in the tumults in Leipsig in 1593. This picture, an *Adam and Eve*, was cut to pieces with a hatchet.

In the catalogue of the collection of Gottfried Winkler, 1768, was a *Christ on the Cross*, with angels and many figures; and an *Agony in the Garden*: doubtful.

In the collection of Dr. Christian Wolf, in 1714, was a small picture of the *Virgin.* (Museum Wolffianum, 99.)

*Luiz, Austria.*

In the possession of Herr von Iosch, 1821, in an excellent collection:

1. An *Ecce Homo*, with two Jews right and left.—This has the following very interesting inscription, besides the date, A.D. 1512:

VENERABILI PIENTISSIMÆQUE MATRI CHARITATI PIRKHEIMERIÆ, CONVENTUS SANCTÆ CLARÆ ABATISSÆ, HANC SALVATORIS IMAGINEM OFFERT WILLIBALDUS PIRKHEIMER.

Clara, the sister of Bilibald, it will be remembered, was the abbess of the cloister of the same name in Nurnberg.

2. *The Head of S. Peter*, with A.D. 1512.

3. *The large Satyr.*—This appears to be the engraved design, and an exception to the rule that Durer never painted the same compositions he engraved, this being considered a genuine work.

*Madrid.*

1. In the Escurial Palace, 1822. *The Adoration of the Magi.*—This appears there under a wrong name, that of Jerome Bosch (Geronimo del Bosco).

2. *The Crowning with Thorns.*—A picture of four figures, half-length, the size of life, on a gold ground, with four dark corners, on which are angels and devils. This also was formerly catalogued as the work of Bosch.

3. *Christ on the Cross with Mary below.*

4. *Taking Down from the Cross.*—One of the greatest known works of the master. Figures half-life size. Napoleon had this picture conveyed to Paris.

5. The same subject with small figures, 1513.

6. The same subject. This is indeed three figures from the large and important picture, and most probably by one of Durer's scholars.

7. *A Saint*: doubtful.

8. *A Female Saint*: doubtful.

In the Bueno Retiro palace, in 1782, were (or are) three reputed Durers. *Adam and Eve*, on cloth, probably a copy; *Portrait of Luther*; and *Portrait of Calvin*. As the latter was only nineteen at the time of Durer's death, this picture, if it represents the author of the 'Institutes,' could not be by the master.

*Mantua.*

In the Gallery. *The Portrait of Albert Durer*, sent by the master to Raphael. Vasari, in his account of Durer, Marc Antonio, and other engravers, in the third volume of his 'Lives,' mentions Durer's sending his portrait to Raphael in return for some of Marc Antonio's prints the Italian master had forwarded to him. This water-colour head in Mantua is said to be this portrait, which had descended to Julio Romano after Raphael's

death, and was carried by him to Mantua when he was expelled from Rome, and went to live with the Cardinal del Te. That such a portrait was sent has no support from any other writer, and Vasari says Raphael sent the prints for Durer to Flanders. Now Raphael died when Durer was in Flanders, and in his Journal Durer mentions the fact, but says nothing of having received any engravings, or sending any portrait.

*Mayence.*

In the Provincial Gallery, 1822. *Adam and Eve*, between them the tree of knowledge, with the serpent.—On it is written, 'Albrecht Dürer alman: faciebat, post partum Virginis, 1507, A.D.' This picture was carried away from Nurnberg by Napoleon, and after a considerable stay in Paris was given by him to the town of Mayence, doubt as to its originality being the reason he did not retain it in the Louvre. Nurnberg reclaimed it, but without effect. It appears that Rudolph II. got the original, highly prized, from the Council of Nurnberg, and carried it away, this copy having been put up in its place.

*Munich.*

As Heller's catalogue of Durer's works in Munich is dated 1818, I prefer the catalogue of the Pinacothèque, 1853, which is an authoritative compilation. The numbers are those in the Gallery.

1. *An Armed Knight*, in a red coat of arms. On wood, 4 ft. 10 in. high by 2 ft. 8 in.

3. *Another Knight*, with similar arms. Same size.

These pictures were the doors of an altar founded by the family Baumgärtner, in the Church of S. Catherine in Nurnberg, and given to the Elector Maximilian I. of Bavaria in 1612 by the Rath of Nurnberg.

17. *Christ bearing the Cross* (School of Durer).—Said to be by Hans Vischer, an imitator of Durer. This was brought from Schleisheim, and is full of figures, finished with wonderful care. On wood, 6 ft. 1 in. high by 4 ft. 6 in.

51. *Portrait of a Man.*—Supposed to be that of Jacques Fugger. In tempera on cloth, 2 ft. 1 in. 4 l. by 1 ft. 7 in. 3 l.

71. *SS. Peter and John.*—Figures the size of life. 15 A.D. 26.

76. *SS. Paul and Mark.*—Companion to the last. Same size, 6 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 4 in. 6 l. Both pictures among the finest works of the master. They were presented to the town of Nurnberg by Durer, and were first placed in the Rathhaus.

72. *The Nativity.*—Five angels surround the infant Jesus. On wood, 4 ft. 10 in. by 4 ft., the altarpiece of which 1 and 3 were the volets.

93. *Lucretia Killing herself*, dated 1518.—Size of life. On wood, 5 ft. 2 in. 3 l. by 2 ft. 4 in.

94. *The Descent from the Cross.*—On wood, 4 ft. 9 in. by 3 ft. 9 in. 6 l.

120. (Cabinet VII.) *Portrait of Oswald Krel*, dated 1499.—On wood, 1 ft. 7 in. by 1 ft. 2 in.

123. *SS. Joachim and Joseph.*—Small figures. Picture painted under the influence of the school of the Lower Rhine, says the catalogue: dated 1523. On wood, on a gold ground, 3 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 8 in.

124. THE PORTRAIT *of Himself*, at the age of twenty-eight.—On the left is the inscription, 'Albertus Durerus Noricus ipsum me propriis sic efingebam coloribus aetatis xxviii.' On the right is the monogram and date 1500. On wood, 2 ft. 1 in. by 1 ft. 6 in.

127. *S. Simeon and Bishop Lazarus.*—Small figures on a gold ground. Monogram and date 1523. On wood, 3 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 8 in.

128. *Portrait of Durer's Father*, at the age of seventy.—This

interesting work has an inscription in which the painter says, he did it from his father at the age of sixty and ten, with monogram and date 1497, when Durer was twenty-six. On wood.

139. *Portrait of Michael Wolgemuth*, painted in 1516, when Wolgemuth was eighty-two.—The inscription (see p. 34) has been added by Durer after the death of the aged painter. In it Durer calls him 'Seim (sein) Lermeister Michll Wolgemut.' In the Munich Gallery are several very fine works by the 'Lermeister,' as well as by his greater pupil. They have come together again after three centuries and a half. On wood, 10 in. by 9 in.

147. *Portrait of a young Man*, called Johann Durer, the painter's brother.—It is dated 1500. It is not that of the painter's brother, although it has been so entitled on the lithographic print. Small; 8 in. 9 l. by 8 in. 4 l.

153. *The Mater Dolorosa.*—The figure is half the natural size. On wood, 3 in. 5 l. by 1 in. 4 l.

154. *The Death of the Virgin, surrounded by the Apostles.*—A beautiful small picture on stone. The size is 8 in. 6 l. by 6 in. 9 l.

To return to Heller, there are several collectors in Munich who claim the possession of pictures by the master; but, as they do not appear in Nagler's list, whose 'A. Dürer und seine Kunst' was published in Munich ten years later than the date of Heller's book, I do not consider it necessary to enumerate the scattered works alluded to.

*Naples.*

In the Palazzo Villafranca.—*Christ on the Cross.*

*Neunkirken on Brand.*

In the Pfarrkirche of S. Michael, 1814.—*The Virgin Offering in the Temple.* Also the *Eight Stations*, said to be Durer's, hung on the two sides of the choir.

*Nurnberg.*

In the native city of the painter we expect to find his works, and in former years they were numerous. King Ludwig and others carried off some of the best for Munich and elsewhere, and now there are scarcely any but copies remaining in the original positions: doubtful even are those in the Rathhaus, executed on the wall itself. Formerly the Praun Collection, as well as other cabinets, contained much of Durer's work now dispersed.

In the Schloss are the two copies of *SS. Paul and Mark, Peter and John*, instead of the originals now in Munich: also *The Mother of Zebedee's Children*, dated 1496. Much injured.

*Portrait of Charlemagne.*

*Portrait of Kaiser Sigismund.* Both doubtful.

*The Nativity.* A copy.

*A Holy Family.* Also a copy.

*His own Portrait.* A copy from that in Munich.

In the Rathhaus. In the great hall is a large painting in oil on the wall, of the *Triumphal Car of the Emperor Maximilian.* The composition is that of the woodcut, and the painting is judged to be by one of Durer's scholars, not by his own hand. Between the doors is a company of musicians represented in a balcony, which may have been Durer's, but has been repainted by Gabriel Meyer in the first half of the eighteenth century. Here is also a copy of the *Adam and Eve.* Sandrart mentions in 1604 a portrait of Durer's mother as existing in the Rathhaus. This picture is no longer to be found.

In the Town Library, 1801.—*A Portrait of Wilibald Pirkheimer*, with date 1514. Not from Durer's hand, and in the Convertiten-Bibliothek were, or are, portraits of *Luther* and *Melanchthon*; both worse than doubtful, dated 1520.

In the Lindauer Brüderhaus. According to Heck's 'Conver-

sations-Lexicon,' there was, at the date of that publication, a picture of *Hercules Shooting the Harpy* : on cloth.

In the church of S. Sebald.—*The Entombment.* John holds the body of our Lord. This picture, which was unfortunately cleaned in 1813, was the gift of the family of Holzschuher, who all appear in the lower part of the composition. The picture has the monogram of the master, and is one of the earlier works : 4 ft. 6 in. by 3 ft. 6 in. Here is also another votive painting, given by the Culmbach family. It is, however, only after a sketch by Durer, as are likewise a *Last Judgment* in the chancel, and a small picture of Durer, Pirkheimer, his sister, and other persons.

Lorenz Church, behind the chancel, a *Christ on the Cross*, 1494 ; not from Durer's hand.

In the chapel of S. Roch, in the graveyard out of the town, is a votive picture presented by Hans Imhoff, a descendant of Pirkheimer. It is a threefold work, containing the Death of Crescentia Pirkheimer, with the Trinity and the Birth of Christ. This has been supposed to be Durer's, but is not from his hand.

In the possession of H. Campe, 1822.—*Christ on the Cross.* On wood, 5 ft. 3 in. by 5 ft. Engraved by Fleischmann.

In the collection of Herr Von Derschau, 1822.—*A Portrait of Sixtus Olhafen*, at the age of thirty-seven, with monogram and date 1503. On wood, 18½ in. by 14½ in.

*Christ bound to a Pillar*, with Durer's monogram. On wood, very small.

*Minerva and the Muses.*

In the collection of Herr Heinlein, 1822.—*John the Baptist.* On wood.

*S. Onophrius*, with date 1504.

*Ecce Homo.*

*Durer's wife, Agnes Frey*, 1519.—These two last are sketches on canvas. All four were formerly in the Praun Collection.

In the house of the Holzschuher family, 1822.—*Portrait of*

*Durer's Friend, Jerome Holzschuher*, with date 1526. On wood. This is certainly one of the finest pictures by the master.

In the collection of Herr Merckel, 1822, a *Portrait of Jacob Muffels*; and in the collection of Herr Peller, 1822, another portrait of the same. Both of these, it is contended, are by Durer. Jacob Muffels was burgomaster in 1514. He was the same age as the painter, and was on terms of friendship with him. He died in 1526.

In the collection of Thomasius, called by Heller *Der grossen Polyhistors Thomasius*, in 1741, was a portrait of another friend of Durer, *Lazarus Spengler*. On it was the painter's monogram, with this inscription:

VICTRIX ☿ FORTUNÆ ♃ SAPIENTIA ♀.
LAZARUS SPENGLER.
ÆTATIS SUÆ XXXIX. ANNO MDXVIII.

*Paris.*

In the Musée Royal, in 1740, we find four of Durer's pictures: *The Magi*, *A Christ with the Crown of Thorns*, '*The History of S. John*,' and another. And at same date, in the Orleans Gallery, were four, *The Nativity*, *The Magi*, *The Flight into Egypt*, *Portrait of a Man with a Paper in his Hand.*

In the Musée Napoléon, in 1806, we find these works catalogued by Durer.—*Portrait of a Geometrician*, *Portrait of a Musician* (both problematical titles), *A Holy Family*, *Head of an Old Man.*

*St. Petersburg.*

In the Imperial Gallery, according to Huber (i. 207), three pictures:

*Christ led to Calvary.*
*Christ carrying his Cross.*
*Portrait of John Frederick, Elector of Saxony.*

In the Imperial Academy a picture of Durer's exists, which,

according to Meusel (Miscell. Heft xi. S. 264), was taken off its wormeaten panel by Lucas Panzelt, under the rule of the Empress Elizabeth, and preserved on a copper plate.

*Prague.*

In the palace of the Emperor Rudolph II., in the new gallery, in 1610, were various pictures by Durer.

1. *The Wise Men of the East* (now at Vienna).

2. *The Madonna, with Two Angels holding a Wreath of Roses wherewith to crown her.*—Probably the picture Hauer reports to have been bought by the Emperor from Imhoff.

3. *Adam and Eve*, 1507.—The picture mentioned before as having been taken from the Rathhaus of Nurnberg, and a copy substituted.

4. *Christ on the Cross*, 1508.

5. *The Martyrdom of the* 10,000 *Saints* (now in Vienna, see p. 288).

6. *The Trinity* (Vienna, see p. 288).

7. *Bearing the Cross.*—Was this the picture presented by the Nurnberg Council to the Emperor, mentioned by Carl van Mander? Heller enquires. In the picture in question were all the councillors of Nurnberg painted among the crowd of characters represented.

8. *The Martyrdom of S. Bartholomew* : painted for the German society or company (Gesellschaft) in Venice, in 1506, when Durer was there. The painter received 110 florins for the picture, and when the Emperor Rudolph II. got possession of it by a great sum of money, he had it carried all the way from Venice to Prague on men's shoulders, for fear the shaking of the usual luggage-waggons would injure it. Rudolph died 1612. The best of his gallery was shortly after taken to the seat of the new government at Vienna. The remainder, after a century of seclusion in the closed apartments, were publicly sold in 1782.

*Rome.*

In the Borghese Palace.—1. *The Three Magi.* 2. *The Woman taken in Adultery.* 3. *Two Portraits of Women.* 4. *S. Francis.* Very beautiful work.

In the Villa Chigi, in 1767, was a *Dead Christ*; and in the Colonna Palace, according to Huber (i. 206), was a picture of a *Cardinal* in a library; and in the Corsini Palace, in 1822, a portrait of a German *Cardinal*, probably Cardinal Albert.

In the Doria Palace, *S. Eustace*, a good work with many figures: on wood, 2 ft. high. The Marchese Luigi Zappi discovered here a very fine *Ecce Homo*, by Durer, in 1821; dated 1520; valued at 1500 florins, and engraved. To all this Heller places a note of interrogation.

*Venice.*

In the Ducal Palace (Markus-Pallast), *Christ before Pilate*: a picture with many figures.

In the Grimani collection (1821), *A Virgin with Angels bearing a Wreath*, and many figures. Most probably an Italian adaptation.

In the Manfrini Gallery.—*The Holy Child adored by the Shepherds and Angels*: on canvas. Also the *Child with Mary and Joseph.*

*Vienna.*

In the Belvedere.—1. *The Adoration of the Magi.* A very elaborate composition of many figures; dated 1504: on wood, 3 ft. 3 in. by 3 ft. 7 in. This picture was executed for Frederick the Wise, and was in the All Saints Church of Wittenberg.

2. *A Madonna with the Child at her Breast.*—Signed A.D. 1503. On wood, 9 in. by 7 in.

3. *An Altarpiece.*—In the centre sits the Virgin, two angels holding a great crown above her. She has the Child in her arms, and S. Katherine kneels before him. Behind her are S. Eliza-

beth and six others, with Gabriel standing farther back. On the other side, the Kaiser Max kneels with his second wife Blanka Maria, and other characters of the time. Durer himself and Willibald Pirkheimer stand under a tree.—On wood, 5 ft. 2 in. by 4 ft. 3 in. Dated 1506. This is a picture of disputed authority, and is not mentioned by Nagler in his list.

4. *Madonna with the Child*, who has a pear in his hand; 1 ft. 8 in. by 1 ft. 2 in.

5. The same.—An interior; on a table stand an apple, a knife, and a glass of red wine. A landscape seen through the window; 2 ft. 4 in. by 1 ft. 9 in.

6. The same. A similar composition: same size.—On the table are a knife and a half-lemon.

7. *The Martyrdom of the* 10,000.—A picture with many figures, Durer and Pirkheimer appearing in the distance; 3 ft. 2 in. by 2 ft. 10 in. One of the most admirable works of Durer.

8. *The Trinity.*—The painter himself is on the left holding a tablet, inscribed 'A. Durer Noricus faciebat Anno Virginis Partu, 1511.' Small figures, on wood; 4 ft. 3 in. by 2 ft. 9 in.

9. *Portrait of Maximilian I.*; painted in the year of the Kaiser's death, 1519. He is in brown fur, with a cap on his head. Half figure; 2 ft. 3 in. by 2 ft.

10. *Portrait of Johann Kleebergers*; painted like 'an antique bust,' 1526. Inscribed 'E. Ioani. Klebergers, Norici an. aetat. suae xxxx.' This came from the Imhoff collection.

11. *Portrait of a Man with blond Hair and Beard.*—Head life-size, on wood.

12. *Portrait of a Young Man with short Moustache and Beard*, a round cap on his head, 1507.

In the Ambraser collection, Vienna.—1. *Portrait of a Young Woman in Profile with long Hair and Pearls.*—On wood, 1 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 3 in.

2. His own portrait with fur mantle and cap, dated 1515. In-

scribed, 'Als ich was 55 (45) jar alt, da het ich die gestalt.' In this gallery are five others called Durer's, but not by his hand.

In the Esterhazy gallery. *Christ on the Cross*; 4 ft. 6 in. by 4 ft. 5 in.

In the collection of Count von Fries. *The Death of the Virgin*; 3 ft. 1 in. by 2 ft. 4 in.; dated 1518. A remarkable work of the master. This picture, among the sixteen figures contained in it, comprises portraits of the Kaiser; Mary of Burgundy, his wife in 1518; Bishop Zlatko of Vienna, for whom it was painted; and others of the court; and was probably painted during Durer's stay at Augsburg.*

Collection of Count v. Lamberg, 1821. 1. *Christ bearing the Cross.*

2. *The Death of Mary.*

3. *The Rape of a Nymph by a Merman.*

In the Lichtenstein gallery, 1821. Two portraits; a man and a woman.

*Wallerstein.*

In the collection of the Duke of Ottingen-Wallerstein (1822). 1. *Portrait of Durer's Father.* Heller writes under the impression that this is the original of Hollar's etching done in 1644. 2. *Portrait of Oswald Krel*, dated 1499. 3. *Christ with the Crown of Thorns*: brown hair and beard: on wood. 4. *The Nativity*; five angels surround the Holy Child. 5. *A Holy Family*: on wood.

*Weimar.*

In the Duke's gallery. 1. *Portrait of Charles V.* 2. *Christ bearing the Cross.* 3. *Portrait of Durer.* 4. *Two Heads of Old Monks.* These three last mentioned were destroyed by the burning of the Schloss.

* This picture has left Vienna. A paragraph in the *Athenæum*, August 21, 1869, informs us it is now above the high altar, S. Wolfgang's Church, on Lake Wolfgang, Upper Austria.

*Wittenberg.*

Besides the picture of *The Adoration of the Magi*, now at Vienna, before mentioned, were formerly three other pictures by Durer: —*The Agony in the Garden*, *Mary with Angels*, and *S. Joseph.* These were destroyed in 1760, when the church in which they were was burnt in the siege.

*Wurtzburg.*

In the bishop's country house. A *Portrait of Durer.* A *Mater Dolorosa.* In the bishop's house at Werdeck, a *Trinity* with the *Assumption of the Virgin*, and at his house at Veitshochheim, *Christ bearing the Cross, with S. Veronica.*

In Herr Hartman's collection were, or are—1. *The Agony in the Garden.* 2. *Adoration of the Magi*; a very admirable work, on wood; 3 ft. 1 in. by 3 ft. 8 in. 3. *Madonna and Child in a Landscape*; 3 ft. 1 in. by 2 ft. 7 in. 4. *Portrait of Sixtus Oelhafen*, 1503.

# V.

## CATALOGUE OF ALBERT DURER'S WORKS.

### *Sketches and Drawings.*

It does not seem possible to make this division of the works of Durer anything like complete or reliable. Without actual examination, the authenticity of the numerous pieces mentioned by Heller, or affirmed by their possessors to be from the master's hand, is at best doubtful. Works of this nature are also more liable to change hands and to be lost, as well as more difficult to reach. At the same time there is certainly a very large number of true sketches from Durer's hand still existing, and the following list enumerates all that are preserved in public institutions or are otherwise verified as at present to be found.

In the possession of Joseph Heller (1827), the author we have followed in previous lists, were two sketch-books bound together—Durer's own books, used for sketches of his friends' portraits, first ideas of subjects, and memorandum sketches, carried to Augsburg on his visit in 1518, and to the Low Countries in 1520–21. This singularly interesting book he acquired in an accidental manner, the same having been unknown to Sandrart and others, although it seems to have been preserved in Nurnberg, and the drawings much injured. The number of sketches in Heller's collection was eighty in all, four only being in water-colour, one in pen, and the rest in charcoal and crayon on strong paper grounded with colour, green or brown. Several of these, according to his own acknowledgment, were not by Durer's hand.

This collection Heller left to the town of Bamberg, at his death, about thirty years ago.

Alexander Posonyi of Vienna formed an important collection, in which were forty-eight original studies and sketches. These are now in the possession of M. A. Hulot, à la Monnaie, Paris, by private purchase, a sale having been advertised by auction at Munich to take place on November 11, 1867. Posonyi had previously offered the entire cabinet, including a small lay figure and a model in oak and iron of a gun-carriage, examples of the versatile science of the artist, to connoisseurs in various countries, at the price of 3,000*l.* (I believe), without effect; but fortunately, at the last moment, and after the circulation of the sale catalogue, M. Hulot came to terms, and preserved the very interesting collection from dispersion. The drawings were formerly in the Praun, Esterhazy, Lawrence, Woodward, Rogers, and other cabinets.

1. *The Madonna on a Throne with the Infant*, 1485. Pen drawing; 8 in. by 5 in. 6 l.

2. *The Three Swiss Founders of Independence*, 1489: Werner Stauffacher, Arnold de Melanthal, and Walther Fürst: pen and ink.

3. *A young Cavalier with a Lady behind him on the Horse*, 1496. 8 in. by 6 in 4. l.

4. *Female Head*: pen.

5, 6. *Flowers.* Several studies by the pen on each sheet.

7. *Philip le Beau* (son of Kaiser Max.); 14 in. by 10 in.

8. *Fantastic Heads and Studies of Drapery*: pen.

9. *Head of an Old Man.* On the back, another pen sketch of a *Maid carrying a Pot on her Head.*

10. *Head of Emperor Max. I.*, 1507. Three-quarters natural size: black chalk.

11. *Hercules and a Dragon.*

12. *Galloping Knight*, 1508 . Silver point.

13. *Head of an Apostle*, 1508. China ink on blue paper.

14. „ „ „ ditto.

15. „ *S. John.* „ ditto.

16. *Full length Figure of Himself*, ' 1509. er selber.' China ink, with white; 15 in. by 9 in.

17. *Christ on the Mount of Olives*: pen.

18. *Vision of a Saint*: pen.

19. *History of Samson*, 1510. An important and beautiful work. On grey-green paper with China ink.

20. *The Nativity*: on the reverse a *Crucifixion*, a fine work: pen.

21. *Virgin and Child.* This is the original sketch of the print called *The Virgin with the Pear*, B. 41, 1511. A beautiful study with the pen.

22. Another *Virgin and Child.*

23. *Sheet of Pen Studies*: *The Madonna*: four figures, men. 1514.

24. *Agnes*, *Sister of Durer*: so called without reason. A head half-life size, formerly called by the more probable name of *Suzanna*, Durer's wife Agnes' maid, 1515. Chalk, 16 in. by 11 in.

25. *S. Nicholas.* Pen, 7 in. 9 l. by 6 in. 9 l.

26. *A Bishop standing.* Pen, 12 in. 3 l. by 5 in. 3 l.

27. *Mother and Child*, 1517. Very fine sketch: pen.

28. *An Ornament*, 1517. Fine pen drawing.

29, 30. *Landscape Studies*: water colours, of great and minute beauty, 16 in. by 11 in. and 12 in. by 4 in.

31. *The Dead Christ.* Fine design with the pen, 1519.

32. *The Bombardment of Assberg*, 1519. Vigorous pen drawing.

33. *A Crucifixion*; 8 in. 9 l. by 8 in. 3 l. Pen.

34. *S. Lawrence*; 10 in. 3 l. by 9 in. 3 l. Strong drawing with pen.

35, 36, 37. *Draperies*, 1521. Charcoal drawings, 15 in. 6 l. by 11 in. 3 l.

38. *Portrait of an Old Man.* China ink.

39. *Durer's Wife Agnes*, 1521. This must be a most interesting drawing, if it really represents Agnes, as it is said to do, in her Netherland costume, twenty-seven years after marriage. This would be in 1521, towards the end of their journey through the Low Countries. The drawing was first in the keeping of the Imhoff family, afterwards in that of Woodburn and Sir T. Lawrence. Silver point on grey paper. Half life size; 15 in. 6 l. by 10 in. 3 l.

40. *Warriors and common Soldiers of Ireland.* This also is perhaps a very curious relic of the 'Journey,' most probably Irish soldiers of fortune he had seen passing through Flanders. Above is written, 'Thus go the head men "*krigs man*," in Ireland beyond England,' and, 'Thus go the common men "*dy pawern*" *(Bauern)*, in Ireland,' 1521. 8 in. by 10 in. 9 l. Pen, with washes of colour, most interesting.

41. *Leaf of Studies.* Supposed from his sketch-book, during his 'Journey:' drawn on both sides, 1521.

42. *An Anatomical Study.* Water colour, 10 in. 6 l. by 6 in. 6 l., 1523.

43. *S. Jude seated*, 1523. Pencil, on green paper, 10 in. by 7 in. 6 l.

44. *Animals*, 1523. Water colour, 9 in. 3 l. by 6 in.

45. *Flowers.* Water colour, 1526; 13 in. by 10 in. 3 l.: parchment.

46. *S. Mark, a Head*, 1526; 14 in. 3 l. by 10 in.

47. *Figure of a Woman.* Study for the 'proportions.' China ink.

48. *Study of a Stag's Head.* Water colours: 7 in. by 6 in.

British Museum. The large volume of Durer's sketches, which came to our National Museum from Mr. Soane, is of extraordinary

interest. Although it is the most important collection in number and in excellence of some of the examples, it is scarcely at all noticed in the most comprehensive German books on the master. Heller does not seem to have known that such a treasure existed. The volume belonged to Lord Arundel, and, as stated in the catalogue of the MSS., British Museum, 'the drawings were probably part of the collection of Willibald Pirkheimer.'

1. *Durer's Portrait at thirteen years of age.* This is an old copy from the well-known original at Vienna, as the inscription acknowledges.

2, 3. *Cherubs' Heads.* Chalks, slightly tinted with colour, which has faded. (No. 4 taken out.)

5, 6, 7. *Male Heads*, in pen: small: very interesting. (8 illegible.)

9. Small study for *Head of Lucretia killing Herself*, in the Pinacothec at Munich.

10, 11, 12, 13. Very fine *Head* on vellum; pen: small.

14, 15, 16. Others on paper.

17. *Female Head*, in chalk.

18, 19. *Male Heads* of great character, in colour. (20–22 illegible.)

23, 24, 25. Very careful and beautiful studies of *Old Men's Heads*, in colour, small. (26 taken out.)

27. *Male Head*, in chalk, size of life; dated 1518.

28. Another similar in size and manner.

29. An impressive, somewhat terrible *Head of Dead Christ*: the action leaning back with mouth open. Inscribed in Durer's hand, 'I drew this in my sickness.'

30. *Head*, in chalk, 1513.

31. „ in pen: a head of singular character.

32. „ in chalk: *A Young Man.* I consider this not Durer's; it is inscribed, 'alt 16 jar.'

33, 34. *Two Female Heads*, in red chalk; 1510, 1506.

35. *A Child's Head*: black and white chalk, 1519.—On red paper.

36. Another, on red paper: *An Old Woman*; very fine.

37, 38. *A Cherub's Head, and a Woman's*: on red paper.

39. *Two Studies of a Child's Head.*

40. *Child's Head*: on blue paper, very fine, 1521.

41. Fine study on light drab paper: *a Boy's Head.*

42. Life size, *Old Man's Head*: chalk, on dark paper: 1522.

43. *Young Woman*; a head highly shaded in black and white: on dark paper, 1502.

45. Large drawing, in chalk: *a Female Head and Shoulders*, 1521. (Preceding No. gone.)

46. Fine work in colour: *a Man's Head*: large.

47, 48. „ chalk, „ „

49. *Female Head*, nearly size of life: much rubbed.

50. Another, same size: *a Young Woman*: inscribed above in large letters 'Fronica, formschneiderin, 1525.' This Fräulein Fronica, the first female engraver on wood on record, we may reasonably fancy coming to the great artist with a proof of her work, and the simple and candid Nurembergeoise face, with its smooth hair scantily seen, attracting his attention. At all events, here she is; rather pretty, a good soul, a little stiff in the temper, with powers of work and application. The name is written so large above the drawing that it suggests some joke on the part of the artist, perhaps to have it published to the world to make her famous.

51. *A Man's Head.*—This drawing and the two following, a male and female head, appear to me of doubtful authenticity.

54. Life size, *Male Head in a Hat*: in chalk, 1521.

55. *S. Lawrence in a Circle of Foliage.* (Doubtful.)

56, 57. (Not Durer's, I believe.)

58. Slight pen sketch of *Two Knights.* (May be Durer's.)

59, 60. Curiously complicated *Plans of Fortification or Mathematical Figures*: drawn by compass, 1506. (May be Durer's.)

61, 62, 63. Slight *Armorial Sketches.*

64. *A Jewel*: very similar in style of ornament to the drawings of Holbein of similar objects.

65. *Allegorical Pen Sketch in a Circle*: small.

66. *A Sarcophagus and Canopy.*—This is so similar to the erection in Padua, called the Tomb of Antenor, I suspect it to be a sketch of that monument. (All these are doubtful pieces.)

67, 68. *A Medal commemorating A. Durer* (not his, of course), and a sketch of his *Shield of Arms*: 'the Open Door.'

69, 70, 71. (Not Durer's.)

72. An extraordinarily careful study of the *Inside of a Bird's Wing.* Preparatory to the engraving of the *Great Fortune*, Vasari's *Temperantia.*

73. *Upright arabesque Pilaster Design.* (Doubtful.)

74. *Design for a Ring.*

75, 76. *Arabesques.* 77, 78. *Designs for Cups.* (Doubtful.)

79. *Two Sketches for Wine Flasks, or Epernes.* (No. 80 wanting.)

81. *Design for Cup and Cover*, 1506.

82. *Two Designs for Ornaments*: upright, 1515.

83. *A large elaborate Design for a centre Ornament in Silver work.* (Not from the hand of Durer; similar to a drawing of his, described in the Imperial Library in Vienna.)

84. *A large Stork.* (Doubtful. 85 and 86 not Durer's.)

87, 88, 89. *An arabesque Column.*—There is a woodcut by Durer of a similar column in three blocks. (Doubtful drawing.)

90–93. (Not Durer's.)

94. *Presentation in the Temple*: studies of parts only finished. (Doubtful.)

95. *Armour for the Leg.* 96. *A Soldier.* (Both doubtful.)

97. *Pen Sketch of a Soldier*, 1510. (98, 99, not Durer's.)

101–108. *Tarock Card Drawings*: some of them certainly taken from those of Baccio Baldini. These were conjectured by Mr. Carpenter to have been done by Durer in Venice in 1506. (Doubtful.)

109. *A Flagellant*: pen; small.

110. *Design for a Stool, and for a plain Silver Measure*: small.

111. *Allegories*: small and slight pen sketches. (Doubtful.)

112. *S. John and the Virgin*: pen; very good.

113. *A Naked Woman with a Pair of Scales*: another draped. (Doubtful.)

114. *Study of a Bird's Wing for the 'Great Fortune;' also a sketch for the Figure*: this last very slight.

115. Slight sketch in pen: *Naked Woman carrying something.*

116. Fine pen sketch: *Christ on the Cross; and a Man's Head*, 1511.

117–123. *Siege Attacks*, &c. (Not by Durer.)

124–127. *Four Divisions of an Altarpiece.* (Not Durer's.)

128, 129. *North American Indians* (?). (Doubtful.)

130–132. (Not by Durer.)

133. *Sketch of a Fireplace and Table*; from the objects.

134–148. Illegible.

136. Beautiful pen sketch, *Virgin and Child:* preparation for the engraving of the *Virgin with the Pear.*

139, 140. (Not Durer's.)

141, 142. *Designs for Spoon Handles.* (Doubtful.)

143–147. *Small Friezes of the Passion*, &c. (Doubtful.)

148–150. (Doubtful.)

151, 152. (Not Durer's.)

153. Slight pen sketch of two capitals, studies for the Triumphal Gate of Maximilian; and 154, *Half of an Eagle*, for the same.

155. *Pen Sketch of a Cock*; and, 156, *of a Cow.* (This last not Durer's.)

157. *Rabbits*: pen sketch. (158, 159, not Durer's.)

160. Two Studies of the *Sturgeon*: water colour.

161. Original Drawing of the *Rhinoceros*, 1515.

162–164. Three small pen studies of landscape; one of them a tree-stem; most admirable. (165 taken out.)

166. Most beautiful study of rocks in body colour, 1506. All the stratification and surface growth given with exactitude.

166*, 167. Landscape studies: *Fir Trees.*

168. *Careful Drawing of a Carrot and a Bulrush Top.*

169. *Cherub with the Instruments of the Crucifixion.* (Doubtful.)

170. *A Saint*: chalks on dark paper.

171. *Orpheus.* (Doubtful.)

172. *Saint Kneeling: Executioner behind him with a Sword*: pen.

173. First sketch for the engraving of the *Prodigal Son*: fine and interesting: pen and ink.

174. Study from nature: *Female Figure introduced behind the Virgin in the print of the Marriage, Life of the Virgin* series.

175–177. (Not Durer's.)

178. *S. Christopher.* (Doubtful.) No 179.

180. Beautiful sketch: *Old Woman's Hands*: chalk, 1518.

181. *Hands and Arms of Adam*, for the engraving. Beautiful pen sketch.

182. Beautiful pen studies of *Eve* in different attitudes, one of them having been adopted for the engraving.

183. *Apollo*: a careful pen study.

184. A pen study: *Venus, or Eve*, 1500.

185. Pen outline: *Profile of a Male Naked Figure*, 1526. The next number is another, similar. These are studies for the work on 'Proportion,' or for a lay-figure.

The remaining drawings, about twenty in number, following 186, may be safely pronounced not by Durer, although some of them are after his known works. Altogether the volume is rich in interest to the critical eye. The British Museum possesses,

besides, ten drawings carefully mounted; some of them having been extracted from the volume. These are,

1. Beautiful drawing in black and white chalk: *Head of a Young Bearded Man Looking up.*

2. Study of the colour of the *Kingfisher*: size of nature.

3. Chalk head, size of life: *Young Man*, 1516.

4. Careful landscape study: *a tall House by a River*: similar to the tall house in the background of the engraving, *The Virgin with the Monkey.*

5. *Virgin and Child with Cherubs*: fine drawing, on very dark paper, white chalk principally.

6. Similarly executed: *Old Man's Head with Long Beard.*

7. Study of a *Dog sitting*: pen with light ink.

8. *Two Angels with a Crown*: study in pen for the engraving of the *Virgin crowned by Two Angels.*

9. Slight pen sketch of a *Camel.*

10. Pen study of *Virgin with Child sitting*, 1503.

The extraordinary precision of some of these studies is highly noticeable. Those in white are especially wonderful. The landscape studies (166 in particular) show exactly the opposite practice to the modern English landscape school. Our present painters, with a vague notion of general and romantic impressions, and what they call 'painting light,' have utterly lost specific detail and exactitude, individuality in foliage, and consequently all the charm that belongs to the multiplicity of nature and imitation of 'still life.' Few of our landscape painters indeed paint anything but distances; pictures with distinctive objects near the eye and the charm of foregrounds are left to figure painters. Durer's heads are studied very much in the same manner as his still life: the eyelids and brows, the moustache and beard, are elaborated not in a mechanical but in an intellectual manner, giving the life of the surface, and the individuality that makes the man or woman what he or she is, and none other.

Dresden. In the Royal Collection of Engravings are six drawings by Durer.

1. *The Virgin with the Child on her Knee.* A very fine pen drawing on brown paper, heightened with gold. 1509.

2. *Christ with the Crown of Thorns.* A very skilful sketch with the pen. The figure leans against the pillar. 1510.

3. *S. Francis.* Pen drawing shaded with bistre.

4. *Justice*: the figure sits upon a lion.

5. *The Virgin with the Child in her Arms, standing on the Half-moon.* The sixth is a sketch of a coat of arms.

In the Royal Library in Dresden is a very interesting memorial of Durer. It is some portion of the work on Human Proportion, with a written title, 'Varii Schizzi di manu propria di Alberto Durero, Pittore Alamano. AD.' The illustrations to this book are the original drawings by Durer, 94 in number. These are described at length by O. B. Hausmann in his work on Durer's engravings, sketches, &c., published at Hanover in 1861.

Vienna. In the Royal Library and Gallery are several reputed sketches by Durer; but the collection of Archduke Albert is of the greatest value and undoubted authenticity. These came from the Imhoff family, from the royal treasures of Prague and elsewhere. Sandrart in his 'Academie' mentions the drawings of the *Passion* on green grounds and others, now in this cabinet.

1. This is the *Portrait* of himself in 1484, of which we have an early copy in the British Museum. On it is written: 'This have I imitated from myself in a glass in 1484, while I was yet a child.'

2. *Andreas Durer*, his brother: pen, 1514. Inscribed in a doggerel couplet, which may be rendered,

> Andreas Durer looked like this
> At thirty years of age I wis.

3. *Adam and Eve by the Tree of Knowledge*: pen, 1510.

4. *The Virgin Meeting S. Elizabeth*: a light pen drawing of the design for the woodcut in the *Life of the Virgin.*

5. *The Nativity*: pen, 1514.

6. *Adoration of the Magi*, 1524: pen.

7. *S. Anna, with the Child on her Knee, with the Virgin*: pen, 1512.

8. *The Last Supper*: sketch for the woodcut, 1523, pen.

9. *The Agony in the Garden*: beautiful pen sketch.

10. " " " 1515: also pen sketch, resembling the composition in the etching ('the iron plate').

11. *Christ before Herod*: pen drawing.

12. *The Crowning with Thorns*: pen.

13. *Christ Carrying the Cross*: pen.

14. *Crucifixion*: composition full of figures: pen and China ink, 1511.

15. *Christ on the Cross, with Mary and John*, 1521: pen.

16. *The Maries Weeping over the Body of Christ*, 1519: pen.

17. *The Death of the Virgin Mary.*—Sketch for the grand woodcut in the *Life of the Virgin.*

18. *A Holy Family*: free sketch with pen.

19. *SS. John, Evangelist and Baptist, Catherine and Barbara adorning the Infant Christ*: light pen, 1511.

20. *The Virgin Nursing the Holy Child*: pen.

21. *The Veronica*: a pen sketch for the copper engraving.

22. *S. Paul sitting*: a beautiful pen sketch, 1517.

23. *Temptation of S. Anthony*: pen, 1515.

24. *Venus on a Dolphin with Cupid standing on a Staff she holds*: pen, 1503.

25. *An Old Man*: pen, 1514.—On the back is a sketch of a lion.

26. *An excellent Study of the Nude*: male: 1515.

27. *Two Naked Figures in outline.* (Doubtful.)

28. *Triumphal Car of Maximilian.*—Preparatory sketch for the work.

29. *Six Mounted Figures*, as if a study for the *Triumph.*

29.* *A Soldier* with a staff, on which spear, bow, &c., hang. Inscribed in Durer's hand, 'dy Franziszt troffea.' 1518.

30. *A Knight on a Horse*, holding a spear with Italian armorial bearings: 'dy Welsch troffea.' 1518.

31. *A Knight splendidly caparisoned*, holding a lance, &c.; 'dy Pemisch (Bohemian) troffea.' 1518.

32. *A similar subject.*—Hungarian trophy.

33. " "

34. " "

35. *A Visor of a Helmet with Ornaments*: in pen, 1517.

36. *The Guard* (stich-platte) of a tournay lance: pen, 1517.

37. *A View of the Cathedral of Antwerp.*—One of the towers appears not to have been built at this time; the other still requires the pinnacle, 1514. An interesting sketch with an inscription in Durer's hand. (Is the date correct?)

38. *View of Antwerp from the Water Side, with Ships*, 1520.

39. *Rocky Landscape*: pen drawing.

40. *Bacchanalian Design of Ten Figures*: in the middle a Faun with Two Satyrs, 1494.—Very beautifully executed, but derived from Andrea Mantegna.

41. *Fight between Tritons and Naiads*, 1494.—Also from Mantegna.

42. *A Sheet of many Studies of Beasts*, &c.: pen.

43. *Judge Minos.*—An allegorical composition: pen.

44. *The Virgin Suckling the Child*: chalk, 1512.

45. *The Emperor Max*, half length, same as woodcut. This is inscribed in Durer's hand: 'Here is the Kaiser of whom I, Albert Durer, in Augsburg, high in the palace ("hoch oben auff die pfalz"), in his little chamber, made the counterfeit 1518, on the Monday after John the Baptist.' Black chalk.

46. Half-length of *Archbishop Albert*: same position as in the copper engraving.

47. *Ulric Varnbüler*, as in the woodcut: the original drawing in chalk.

48. Half-length of a *Negro*, 1518: black chalk.

49. *A Man's Head and Shoulders, with Beard*: chalk.

50. *Ditto, a Priest with the Barretta on his Head.*

51. *Portrait*: a man half life-size, leaning his hand on a table in front of him: 1514.

52. Portrait of *Felix Hungersperg*.—He holds a shield with the Emperor's heraldry on it. Written in Durer's hand is the inscription 'FELIX HUNGERSBERG: der köstlich und Übiegrad Lawtenschlacher.' Pen drawing.

53. Half-length *Portrait of a Woman*: turned to the left, a kerchief over her head. Above is '1520 A.D. Zu prussel gemacht.' Done at Brussels, 1520.

'54. Half-length of *Lautenschlager Felix Hungersberg*: written above is 'Zu Antorf gemacht, 1520.'—Done at Antwerp, 1520. 'Das ist hawbtman felix der köstlich lawtenschlacher.' Pen.

55. Half-length of *Hofnarr Claus*, 1521.—This pen-drawing was engraved on copper by Bartsch.

56-57. *Adam and Eve*.—Sketches of the two figures in the engraving; skilful pen drawings.

58. *The Nativity*.—Mary kneels by the Child, 1512. On brown paper, beautifully drawn by the pen, and the lights painted in white.

59. *The Transfiguration*, 1507.—Pen drawing on blue paper, with white.

60-71. *The Sufferings of Christ*.—A series of twelve drawings. They are on green paper, with the pen, the lights painted in white with great delicacy. These were in the Imperial collection formerly, and so mentioned by Sandrart, 1675. The subjects are the same as those of the engraved *Passion*, and many

of the sketches are the originals of the engravings:—*The Adoration of the Magi; The Taking of Christ; Christ before Caiaphas*, 1504; *Christ before Herod*, 1504; *The Scourging*, 1504; *The Crowning with Thorns*, 1504; *Our Lord Shown to the People; Christ led out*, 1504; *Bearing the Cross*, 1504; *The Crucifixion*, 1504; *Descent from the Cross*, 1504; *The Entombment*, 1504.

72. *The Resurrection.*—A rich composition finely done in water colours: dated by Durer, '*Post Virginis partum*, 1510.'

73. *S. Peter.*—On grey paper with white: engraved by Bartsch.

74. *The Virgin Reading*, 1521.—On greenish paper, very beautiful, 1521.

75. *S. Thomas.*

76. *S. Philip.*

77. *A Saint*, 1523.

78. *The same Saint*, 1523.

79. *Temptation of S. Anthony*, 1521.—On green paper, with white.

80. *Lucretia Killing Herself*, 1508.—On grey paper, with white.

81. The same composition: same date.

82. *A Female Lying with her Back on a Stone, quite naked.*—Seen in front view. In Durer's hand inscribed, '*Dz hab ich yſifyrt*' (*visiert*), 1501.

83. *An old German Standard-bearer*, 1513.

84. A half-length *Portrait of a Woman*, with a kerchief over her head, 1519.

85. *Portrait of Van Heigh*: a barrette on his head.

86. *Portrait of a Monk*, 1506.

87. *Michael Wohlgemuth.*—Black chalk with white, on blue paper; engraved by Bartsch.

88. *Portrait of an Aged Man* with a strong beard, a cap on his head: life-size, on grey paper. Above is written, '*Der man ward 93 yar alt, noch gesundt und vermichlich: zu andorff.*' 1519.

89. The same *Head* differently treated, with the same inscription.

90. *A Man's Head with long Beard*, 1508.—On green paper. This has been well engraved by Sadeler.

91. *Another Man's Head with long Beard*, same date.

92. *Half-length of a Man Looking up*, 1508.—On green ground.

93. *Head of a Woman Looking upwards*, 1506.—Well engraved by Egid. Sadeler.

94. *Head of a Woman Looking down.*—Also engraved by Egid. Sadeler.

95. *A Study of Two Hands*, united.

96. „ *a Hand.*

97. „ *an Arm of an Old Man*, 1521.

98. „ *an Uncovered Arm with a Sword.*

99. „ *a Hand.*

100. „ *a Hand with a Book.*

101. „ *Two Hands*, 1506.

102. *A Death's Head lying on a Table*, 1521.

103. *Study of Three Books.*

104. „ *a Lady's Garment*, 1521.

105. „ Another; *lying on a Man's knee.*

106, 7-8. Studies of a similar character.

109. *A Dagger in a richly ornamented Sheath.*

110. *Three Female Heads seen in front.*

111. *The Holy Child holding the Globe.*—Parchment with water colour: very beautiful, 1493.

112. *The Nativity.*—Angels surround the Child, and SS. Katherine and Barbara are beside Joseph and Mary.

113. *The Virgin sitting.*—The Holy Child in her lap: Angels behind, with SS. Jerome, Anthony, &c. On the left is S. Sebastian, on the right S. Roche.

114. *The Virgin in a rich Landscape.*—Near her an owl sits on a stem.

115. *Christ on the Cross*, 1509.

116, 17. *The left and right Thieves.*

118. The first sketch for the *Knight and Death.*—Engraved by Bartsch: beautiful sketch in water-colour.

119. *A Nurnberg Woman going to Church.* Sketch in water-colour. On this drawing is written. '*Remember me when you come into your Kingdom*, 1508.' And '*Thus go they to Church in Nurnberg.*'

120. *A Nurnberg Maiden dressed for the Dance.*—Inscribed, '*Thus the Nurnberg Fräuleins go to the Dance*, 1500.'

121. *A Fräulein in her House Clothes.*—Inscribed, '*Thus they do the House-work.*'

122. *An old German Noble Lady.*—Three-quarters figure, 1495.

123. *The Emperor Charles in State Robes, with Crown, Sceptre, and Sword.* Above, '*Das ist des Heiligen grossen Kaiser Karels habits*, 1510.'

124. *The Dress of the Serving Men of the Emperor Maximilian.*—Black upper dress ornamented with gold, green under-clothes, 1517.

125. *The Dress of the Servants at Court of an Eastern Prince.*—Similar to the last, black and green.

126. *A Carriage Servant*, 1515.

127. *Study of a Kneeling Pope*, 1514.

128. *A great Gold Cup and Cover*, 1526.

129. *The Town of Ispurg.*—A view of a town under the snowy heights, with a strong river below; inscribed '*Ispurg, A.D.*' This is said to be coloured from nature; but as Ispurg appears to be a town in Russian Lithuania, we should require to know when Durer visited it. Possibly in his *Wanderjahre.*

130. *View of the Old Drying Stakes* (Trockenstege) *of Nurnberg.*—A pen sketch coloured from nature.

131. *The Outlook from Durer's Home at the Thiergärtner Thor Platz.*

132. Another, coloured from nature.

133. *An Angry Lion*, 1520.

134. *A Sitting Hare*: dated 1502, A.D.—In Dresden is a similar drawing, so that there is a question which is the original.

135. *A Dead Bird*; a nut-hatch probably, 1512, A.D.—In blue and green, with the pen. From the Imhoff cabinet.

136. *A Bird's Wing*, done with great care on parchment, 1512. —A favourite object with Durer, who appears to have delighted in the delicacy and infinite detail of the small feathers and down. Also from Imhoff.

137. *A Sitting Partridge*.—In colour, on brown paper.

138. *An Owl*; standing, 1508.

139. *A Snipe*.

140. *A Flying Bat*.—Very beautifully painted.

141. *A Nosegay of Violets*.—On parchment.

142. *Brier and some small White Blossoms*.—On parchment.

143. *Two Stalks with Violet-coloured Blossom*.—A very beautiful miniature painting.

144. *A Blue-bell* (?).—Very carefully painted on parchment, 1526.

145. *A Stalk with a Yellow Blossom*, 1526.

146. *A Group of Grasses*.—Extremely careful.

147. *The Triumphal Chariot of Maximilian*, 1518.—A pen drawing: size of the engraving, for which this is the preliminary sketch. From the Imhoff Collection.

148. *A great Beaker or Tankard*.—Decorated with borders and small figures: a rich composition, carefully drawn with pen and coloured, on parchment. The lower part of the beaker shows soldiers marching; above are peasants, a shepherd with his herd, a hunter, a man before a crucifix, and other incidents represented in an early German manner.

The last sketch in this great collection mentioned by Heller, is not Durer's but Raphael's. It is the drawing sent by the great Italian to the great German, so often mentioned, as showing

the high esteem in which Durer was held by the most cultivated painter living, and first favourite of fortune. It is apparently only a study, and that of two naked male figures, one of them a back view, the other sideways, with both hands leaning on a staff. In size it is about 15 in. by 11 in.

On this sketch is written, in Durer's hand :—

'1515.

'Raffahell di Urbin der so hoch peim Pabst geacht ist gewest hat der hat dyse Nackette Bild gemacht und hat se dem Albrecht Durer gen Nornberg geschickt, im sein hand zu weisen.'

Raphael of Urbino, in such high favour with the Pope, has made this sketch of the nude, and sent it to Albert Durer to show his manner. 1515.

Having gone through this long catalogue, and that in our own British Museum, it does not seem necessary to enumerate all the scattered sketches of Durer to be found in various parts of Europe, as it is not possible to verify them.

Notwithstanding the absence of this possibility, there are several drawings, however, not to be passed over without particular mention. In the portfolio of Joseph V. Grünling, Vienna (1827), containing 55 reputed drawings by the master, Heller mentions one of his wife, Agnes Frey (?). The face is turned to the right, the head bare, with the hair drawn back and tied by a band. She is dressed in a bodice.

In the collection of Inspector Lefever, also at Vienna (1827), along with three other Durer sketches, is one of a maiden ; half-length figure ; her mouth resting on her right hand : a three-quarters view of the fair face. A pen-and-ink sketch, with the inscription in Albert's hand,

'MEIN AUGUST. A.D.'

In Braun's Catalogue of Vienna photographs, this sketch is called Agnes Durer, which is manifestly a mistake.

In the Ambrosian Library, Milan, are fourteen authentic Durer drawings ; two of these are the immediate studies for the *Knight*

*and Death*, in which the warrior and his dog only are seen, with dark backgrounds. One of these has been traced from the other by reversing; so exactly like the print is one, that the change in the action of the right hind leg of the horse, which a close inspection of the print shows has been made, is seen to have been done on the sketch first.

At Florence are eighteen Durer sketches. One of these is an outline sketch of the warrior in the *Knight and Death*, the horse having every part—head, neck, legs, and flank—covered with careful measurements from nature, an instance of the thoroughness of Durer's study. Here are also two pen-and-ink drawings of compositions of many figures, subject *Christ on His Way to Calvary*. Slight sketches, but very fine.

The collection of drawings made by Sir T. Lawrence comprised no fewer than 100 by Durer. These were chiefly pen drawings, and on the death of Lawrence, when Messrs. Woodward made a series of ten exhibitions of his drawings, each exhibition comprising 100 drawings, these were shown to the public in May 1836. They were at that time sold in a mass for 800*l.*, and subsequently dispersed. Some are now in the collections already enumerated, in the British Museum, and in the possession of M. Hulot, of the Mint, Paris. The majority are dispersed about this country, in private collections; also in that of the King of Holland, I believe. In the absence of exact information, however, they must be left uncertain in the present catalogue.* All these drawings were stamped with Sir T. Lawrence's initials.

In May, 1869, the Burlington Fine Arts Club opened an Exhibition of the works of Albert Durer and Lucas van Leyden. In the Durer section of this exhibition, which comprised nearly

* I take this opportunity of inviting possessors of Durer's drawings to communicate information. In the event of a future edition, I shall gratefully acknowledge such aid.

all the copper engravings, the impressions of the *Adam and Eve*, the *Melancholy*, the *Knight and Death*, and other principal works exhibited by Mr. Fisher, Mr. A. Morrison,* Mr. G. Vaughan, Mr. F. S. Haden, Mr. W. Mitchell, Mr. R. S. Holford, and others, were of the highest excellence and rarity. The four examples of the *Knight and Death*, sent by the four first-mentioned gentlemen, were all equally splendid, and the three of *Adam and Eve* by Mr. Fisher, Mr. S. John Dent, and Mr. Holford, were also perfect.† Mr. Mitchell exhibited the small circular *Crucifixion* (B. 23), supposed to have been done for the hilt of the sword of the Emperor Maximilian, now so rare. An early impression of the etching or dry point work, the *Madonna seated with the Infant on her Lap, S. Joseph and three Saints behind* (B. 43), exhibited by Mr. J. C. Robinson, showed how strong and effective the *burr* was in Durer's hand. The drawings amounted to thirty-six.

124 in the Exhibition Catalogue. *Two Turks followed by a Negro Slave.*—Pen, tinted with water-colour. From the Lawrence collection. Mr. Malcolm.

125. *Study of the Standing Figure of a Stork*: dated 1517, pen. Mr. R. S. Holford.

* The *Knight and Death* exhibited by Mr. Morrison was purchased by him at Sir J. S. Hippisley's sale, May 23, 1868, at the price of 94*l.*

† 'On the back of Mr. Fisher's beautiful impression of A. Durer's *Adam and Eve*, now at the Burlington Club, is an interesting memorandum which illustrates one of the whims of a once well-known collector. This note was made by John Barnard, who was in the habit of inscribing his fine possessions to persons whom he thought worthy of that distinction. In this case he wrote "Accomplished Miss Betty Cooper, of St. James's Street." Miss Cooper was a handsome dealer in flowers, who resided in St. James's Street, and attracted many admirers and much custom to her shop. Mr. Barnard was the son of Sir John Barnard, Lord Mayor of London in 1737, who was six times elected M.P. for the city; a very strong opponent to Sir Robert Walpole, and greatly feared by that minister.'—*Athenæum*, June 29, 1869.

126. *Female Figure.*—Pen, washed. Inscribed 'Eine Nurembergerin, als man zur kirche geht.' (Very fine.) Mr. Malcolm.

127. *Virgin and Child with S. Elizabeth.* In colours, dated 1514: not characterised by Durer's manner. Mr. Mitchell.

128. *Two Studies from the Muzzle of an Ox.*—In colours, with the monogram and date, 1523. Mr. Malcolm.

129. *A Knight with a Trophy of Arms*: dated 1518.—Mr. R. S. Holford.

130. *The Wing of a Kingfisher.*—Highly finished in colours. From the Esdaile collection. (A beautiful study.) Mr. Morrison.

131. *A Beetle.*—Highly finished in colours, dated 1505. (Very fine.) Mr. C. S. Bale.

132. *Study of Marigolds.*—Highly finished in colours. (Very fine.) Mr. C. S. Bale.

133. *Study of the Virgin and Child.*—In pen. Mr. C. S. Bale.

134. " " " " —Also in pen. Mr. C. S. Bale.

135. *Study of Wild Flowers.*—A Lily of the Valley, and a species of Blue Nettle. (Very fine.) Mr. Malcolm.

136. *Studies of the Wings of a Bittern*, dated 1515.—In colours. Mr. C. S. Bale.

137. *Study of the Body of a Jay*, dated 1509.—Highly finished in colours. Mr. C. S. Bale. These two sketches are not entirely certain to be Durer's work.

138. *Study of a Buttercup and Root of Red Clover.*—In colours. (Very fine.) Mr. C. S. Bale.

139–140. Might have been omitted, as they are pen-and-ink drawings, line for line from the prints of the *Portrait of Pirkheimer* (B. 106) and the *Veronica* (B. 26). The latter is possibly by one of the brothers Wierix.

141. *Study of a Foot*, nearly of the full size, with the bones also drawn in the same pose as in the sketch. From the Crozat collection. Mr. Malcolm.

143. *A Skeleton with a Scythe in his Hand, riding on an old half-starved Horse*, evidently intended as an impersonation of Death. Inscribed 'Memento Mei.'—(These two drawings are very able sketches, roughly done in black chalk, a manner of working not at all characteristic of Durer.) Mr. Malcolm.

144. Two standing figures, *SS. Catherine and Barbara.*—Charcoal, on light brown tinted paper, 1514. (Very fine example.) Mr. Malcolm.

145. *Study of the Head of a Boy with curling hair.*—Dated 1508. Pen, heightened with white. Mr. Malcolm.

146. *Virgin seated on the ground, holding the Child in swaddling clothes on her knees.*—Pen and Indian ink. Mr. Malcolm.

147. *Head of a Child or Amorino*, of small life-size.—Black chalk, heightened with white, on dark green ground. Mr. Malcolm.

148. *Profile Head of a Young Man*, who wears a raised broad-brimmed hat: his mantle fastened with loops up to the throat.—Dated 1518. Black chalk and charcoal. (Very fine.) Earl of Warwick.

149. *Study for the Head of the Virgin.*—Silver point heightened with white, on light red ground.* Mr. Malcolm.

150. *Sheet of Two Studies from the Life.*—Two views of the same nude standing female figure with a mirror in her hand. Silver point on cream colour. From the Reynolds and Lawrence collection. Mr. Malcolm.

151. *Head of Young Man with close curling hair.*—1503. Pen, heightened with white. From the collection of Count Nilo Barck. Mr. Fred. Locker.

152. *Holy Family.* Virgin with the Infant standing in her lap,

* This and No. 143 represented Durer in the great Leeds Exhibition, 1868. There and in the Burlington Club Catalogue it is said, on the authority of Mr. Robinson, to be 'Apparently a life-study from his wife, Agnes Frey.' An unfounded conjecture, similar to those we have recorded before.

under a great tree.—In pen. From the collection of Samuel Rogers (?). Mr. Malcolm.

153. *An Angel playing upon a Guitar*, dated 1491.—Silver point heightened with white. From the Lawrence, Woodburn, and Hawkins collections. A curious and interesting drawing. Mr. Mitchell.

154. *Death holding the train of a Female over his right arm, and raising his left in derision.*—Pen. (An admirable example.)* Mr. Mitchell.

155. *The Taking of Christ.*—A composition of many figures. Pen and bistre (?). Mr. Holford.

156. *Two Old Men's Heads*, dated 1520.—Silver point. (Very fine.) Mr. Holford.

157. *Four Naked Women.*—(Like Nos. 139, 140.)—A copy from the print, B. 75.

* At the sale of Sir J. S. Hippisley, Bart., at Sotheby's, May 1868, reappeared five of the Lawrence Collection of Durer drawings: *Portrait of Melanchthon, Holy Family, Two Sketches of Frederick of Saxony, Studies for Two Apostles*, and this drawing, which then brought £66.

# ADDENDA.

## *Durer's Carvings and Medals.*

IN these four catalogues, the works of the master as painter and engraver are given, but there are other classes of productions attributed to him, particularly carvings in wood and ivory. In the Journal we have seen that he presented a child carved in wood to the Factor of Portugal. In some early accounts of Durer, he is styled sculptor, as well as painter, and in the Paris translation of the book on geometry, he is called architect; so that all the arts except music were within his grasp, besides the sciences of fortification, geometry, with its dependent, perspective, and certain branches of mechanics. We have not, however, thought it proper to give a catalogue of the carvings, as it is extremely probable that these, like the wood-engravings, were the actual handiwork of others following Durer's directions or sketches.

Some account of these, however, is necessary, and the following is an enumeration of all that have come under our notice in Heller or elsewhere.

In the British Museum the finest example of Durer's plastic art is to be found. It is a small carving in soapstone representing the birth of John the Baptist, and is cut with extreme delicacy and beauty. The monogram is on it.

In the collection lately sold by Herr Posonyi to M. Hulot of Paris, is a small lay figure claimed as Durer's work, and a model of a gun-carriage, very probably showing some invention by the artist. These have been already mentioned.

In Narrey's 'A. Durer à Venise et dans les Pays-Bas,' an engraving is given of a medal, representing a portrait of an elderly man, Durer's monogram and date, 1514, on the background, in the collection of M. Niel.

Amsterdam, 1821: J. A. Brentano possessed a portrait carved in wood, and a medallion of a young man in terracotta. Augsburg: In the possession of Hofrath v. Ahorner, 1621, was a crucifix in wood. Bamberg: In the Pfarrkirche, 1823, was a relief of the *Birth of Christ* and other sculptures. Baireuth, 1821: With Herr Rath von Herder, the *Four Evangelists* cut in box-wood. Brunswick: In the Ducal Cabinet, 1796, *John preaching in the Desert*, almost as fine a work as the *Birth of S. John Baptist* in the British Museum. This, however, is in wood. It is engraved in M. Lacroix's beautiful work, 'Les Arts au Moyen Âge,' Paris, 1869: and an *Ecce Homo*, in wood. Cassel, in the Elector's collection, 1760: *Christ in Agony*, and the *Birth of Christ*, cut in ivory, background coloured. Frankfort, with Clemens A. Hochweisner, 1818: *Adam and Eve*, in wood; and in the collection of the amateur Hüsgen, in 1798, was a profile portrait of Durer in wood, inscribed 'Imago Alberti Dureri, ætatis suæ LVI.'*

* This carving was kept by Herr Hüsgen in a casket shaped like an urn, in the base of which was a drawer containing a precious relic of the long-deceased master, a lock of his hair. With this sacred treasure was a paper to the effect that the lock of hair had been reverently cut from the head of Durer and preserved by Hans Baldung Grun, till his death at Strasburg in 1545, when the lock came into the possession of the brother-in-law of the writer of the paper, Nikolaus Krämer. At his death in 1550 the writer's sister Dorothy possessed it. This paper was signed Sebold Büheler, 1559. To this was added another certificate, dated 1595, signed Josias Schacher, glass painter, and a paper written by H. S. Hüsgen, with further particulars. At Hüsgen's death, the lock of hair, without the bust and urn, the documents having been previously published, came into the possession of Herr Rath Schlosser, where they remained when Heller published his 'Leben und Werke,' 1827. Does this precious relic still exist?

Also at Frankfort, in the Städel Institute, 1822, was a carving in wood of a naked male figure holding his right hand on his breast: Durer's monogram on the stand. Gotha: In the Duke's gallery, an *Adam and Eve* in wood, a beautiful work; Adam thirteen, Eve twelve inches high. This work was bought by the Duke in 1818, from a dealer, for 100 ducats. Leipzig: With the engraver Frosch, in 1822, was a very small carving in soapstone bearing Durer's monogram, a woman sitting in the stocks with a padlock on her mouth, the words 'Consuerce· abstinere· MDXXIX.' under the monogram.

Munich: In the cabinet of ivories are several attributed to Durer; two Venuses or naked female figures six inches high; a very fine small *Christ on the Cross*; *Portrait* (whether bust or relief not stated) *of an Emperor*; and an *Entombment*, the dead Christ with four figures, about fourteen inches high, cut in wood, dated 1496. Nurnberg: In the church of S. Sebald, are some very doubtful specimens, and in the possession of the old family of Beheim is a carving in stone of 'Frederick Beheim, alt XXXV Jar,' with date 1526 and monogram. Paris: A bas-relief of the *Flight into Egypt* was placed in the museum in 1507. Prague: In 1611, in the collection of Rudolph II., were two busts in wood of Duke Charles of Burgundy and his wife, attributed to Durer. Stuttgard: In the Boissière collection, 1822, was a *Virgin and Child* standing on the half-moon, with monogram and date 1513, and another similarly supported, dated 1516. Venice: In the Little Arsenal, 1712, was an *Adam and Eve* in wood. Vienna: In the Treasury, 1700 (?), a small circular box enclosing a carving of the *Birth of Christ*, which Heller says cost 30,000 thalers; a *Flight into Egypt* in wood, a *S. Sebastian*, and two small altars, one of them carved in agate.

Many of these would no doubt be found on examination to be works produced subsequently to the time of Durer, and sometimes to be adaptations from his engravings. But besides his

carvings, a considerable number of medals are assigned to him. Of these it is only necessary to mention one, a token or penny he is supposed to have done for Luther. On the one side is a profile of Luther; on the other, within a circle, is Durer's monogram with D.M.L. above it, and the date 1526 below.

### *Durer's Architecture and Painted Glass.*

Regarding Durer's works as an architect, there is much less evidence to be brought forward. We have seen (p. 133), when in Antwerp suing for the continuance of his place of court painter, he presents the Lady Marguerite's physician with a design for a house he proposes to build. He calls it a plan, and says he would not do it on commission under ten florins—a considerable sum if multiplied by the increased value of money in modern times. At the same place in his Journal he makes two designs for the lady herself, which he presents to her, and estimates at thirty florins. The round towers still adorning, if not defending, the walls of Nurnberg, crowned by wooden galleries corbelled out, and covered by high conical slated roofs, are attributed to him, apparently without support. Nothing corresponding to them appears in his Book on Fortification. On the contrary, he is there mainly employed in sheltering heavy cannon, and contriving concealed galleries in stone defences.

There is, however, at least one house in Nurnberg with some of the design of Durer still existing. Director Heideloff, who has studied the architecture of the old city most carefully, says the gallery of the house No. 40 (in another reference he makes it 46), belonging to Franz Michael Gessert the merchant, is proved with certainty to have been added by Durer. The house, which was not new at that time, had been bought by Catherine Floker, widow of a rich merchant; and her daughters, celebrated for their beauty, were much interested in art, and were the private

friends of the master. After Durer designed the Gate of Triumph for the Emperor, the widow Floker added the gallery in question from his design in 1516, the date appearing on it. In 'Die Ornamentik des Mittelalters,' Heideloff gives the twelve designs contained in the whole length of the balcony. They are in heavy geometrical tracery, thoroughly German of that day, the latest of the existence of Gothic, which the Director calls the style of the Reformation—an unfortunate name, as it was the dying effort of the architecture of the middle ages. In many of these the tracery is intentionally broken, so as to leave the geometrical figure incomplete, and the flat spaces are filled with Renaissance relics. See 'Die Orna. des Mittelalters,' pp. 27, 40, and Heft xi. pl. 2, 3, 4, 5.

There is still another division of art in which Durer, it is asserted, largely occupied himself, that of glass painting. The Low Countries were at that time the most productive of lands in painted glass, but it is certain that Upper Germany was also celebrated for the manufacture. None of the earlier authorities for the facts of Durer's life mention his glass paintings, but several later writers assert that he employed himself in that art, and that among other undertakings he produced twenty windows for the Church of the Temple, in Paris. This assertion is definitively repeated by M. Paul Lacroix in his 'Arts au Moyen Âge, etc.,' just published. Proofs, however, seem to be wanted in confirmation of the statement. Mr. H. F. Holt has found what he considers good reason for believing the windows in the church of Fairford, near Cirencester, to be the work of the master, but certain features in the composition of the pictures at Fairford bear evidence against the theory he has so strenuously advocated. Although no existing windows can be traced by internal evidence to the hand of Durer, it is exceedingly likely that in the earlier part of his career he executed designs for glass.

*Portraits of Agnes Durer.*

We have seen in the catalogue of drawings and sketches, that several female heads have been said to be probably studies from Durer's wife, and with a view to give a portrait of that lady, the author has investigated the question of these surmises, without finding any foundation for them. The result on his mind is that Durer was not in the habit of making studies from his wife's face, who is however said to have been very handsome. This is a significant fact, if it is one: Durer's habit of sketching everybody and everything about him being remarkable and persevering through many years.

In the collection of Prince Esterhazy, which is said to be rich in Durer sketches, is a vigorous drawing in brown chalk of a female in a bodice, with bare neck, three-quarters face, signed by Durer's monogram and dated 1503, size 11 in. 3 l. by 7 in. 11 l. But this drawing has no name written on it, as his own portrait at thirteen and very many of his drawings have, so as to identify it as Agnes, nor does there appear to be any reason for calling it by her name.

The only engraved portraits are two, and both of them represent sculpture. The first is an engraving by J. Frederick Leonhard, representing a plaster bust standing on a table: on the background Durer's monogram and date 1508; below are the words 'Agnes Alberti Düreri conjux, J.F.L.' It is a small print, 3 in. 8 l. by 2 in. 2 l. The other was published in Will's 'Nürnberg Münzbelustigung,' i. 369, and represents a medal: Durer's monogram and date 1508 being on it. From these it would appear that Durer had left no known painting or drawing of his wife, but that he had modelled or carved her likeness, which was adopted by those engravers.

I may here say that some attempt has been lately made in

Germany to reverse the evil conclusions historians have arrived at regarding the character of Albert's wife Agnes. Perhaps we shall have some interesting additions to our knowledge on the subject from Mrs. Heaton, in the work which I am glad to hear is in the press.

With regard to Durer's own portrait, the authentic paintings and engravings are so numerous that there is no difficulty; but yet the large woodcut issued with verses under it, on the death of Durer, has been often re-engraved. Mr. Cole, in his reprint of the cuts of the 'Little Passion' from the blocks in the British Museum, adopted it. The reader may be referred to No. 174 in our catalogue of wood engravings.

### *Durer's Latin.*

In the family relation, Durer says he was taken from school by his father when he had learned to read and write. This may be a modest statement on the part of Durer; the 'reading' may have included Latin. Or perhaps his reading may have been in that language alone, as taught in church schools of the middle ages, and the school may have been that of S. Sebald, though it is said to have been the Spital school. There are many evidences of a knowledge of Latin in Durer's inscriptions, and some in his writings. At the end of Letter VI. from Venice, p. 54, Durer signs himself Albertus Durer Norikorius Sibus. These words have been hitherto unsolved. The latter word has been guessed at as 'Civis' phonetically written, but this is only a partial explanation. My friend Mr. W. M. Rossetti has suggested as possible a very ingenious solution. He supposes the MS. wrongly read. Let it be printed 'Noricor. iussibus,' i.e. Noricorum jussibus, 'At the command of the Nurnbergers' (or, as one might say, 'The Nurnbergers' humble servant to command'), and the difficulty is removed.

The phrase referred to in page 149, 'Sontag Iudicä,' as a date, is, I am told, a certain Sunday when the introit of the Mass begins with the words 'Judica me, Deus, et discerne.'

I may mention here that the able critic mentioned above thinks it likely, *primâ facie*, that the design which Durer calls *Nemesis* should be identified with the so-called *Great Fortune* (Vasari's *Temperantia*), rather than with the *Knight and Death.*

### *Albert Durer's Illness.*

While this book is still in the hands of the printer, I find a page of the MS. of Durer's Journal in the Netherlands has dropped out while in the author's hands at some early time, and the small portion thus unhappily omitted contains the account of the fever and subsequent illness that attacked him at Antwerp. Here is the passage; it follows the paragraph ending at the foot of p. 153:—

'In the third week after Easter, a hot fever attacked me, with very great weakness, unhappiness, and headache. I had the same when in Zealand, and now again this wonderful illness overcame me. It is such an illness as I never heard of any other man having, and it continues upon me still.' This paragraph is followed by repeated payments to doctor and apothecary; Roderigo being kind, and sending him sweetmeats during his confinement. In the remaining portion of this journal, the reader may have observed, his payments to the doctor continue, and it has been supposed that he never quite threw off this sickness, but that it increased upon him to the time of his death. It appears he was much reduced and weakened before the end, and if this disease was consumption, as some have supposed, Pirkheimer's insinuation, or rather accusation, of Agnes having caused his death by vexation and worry, must be considered in a great degree overcharged, to say the least. The pains inflicted by the worldly-minded saint must have been mitigated by endurance at an earlier period of life, and to a man of Durer's nature they would subside into a kind of perpetual penance.

*Spottiswoode & Co., Printers, New-street Square and Parliament Street.*

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Government of Maharashtra

on 30 January, 2020